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Do we participate in Apartheid?

Reflections by black
South Africans
on themselves, us and
our investments

Translated by
Esau du Plessis

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, GENEVA,
Programme to Combat Racism

Theology Library
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

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Printed in The Netherlands by Krips Repro BV, Meppel.

ISBN: 2-8254-0502-7

Translated from the Dutch, *Apartheid, hebben wij er part aan?* Original publisher: Centrale voor Vormingswerk and Hervormde Vrouwendienst, Driebergen.

Cover design: N. Witte-Brooymans

Photographs front cover and pages 9, 15, 19 and 26

From: *House of Bondage* by Ernest Cole,
published by Allen Lane, Penguin Press, London 1968.

Page 13

From: *A Place called Dimbaza*, published by
The Africa Publication Trust, London.

Photographs Brigalia Bam and José Chipenda,
pages 43 and 44: World Council of Churches

Cartoons, pages 31 and 35:

From: *Rust en Orde*, published by De Nieuwe Linie,
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

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Introduction

In 1972, the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches agreed in Utrecht to instruct "its Finance Committee and its Director of Finance to sell forthwith existing holdings and to make no investments after this date in corporations which, according to information available to the Finance Committee and the Director of Finance, are directly involved in investment in or trade with any of the following countries: South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Guiné-Bissao; and to deposit none of its funds in banks which maintain direct banking operations in those countries."

The Central Committee also urged "all member churches, Christian agencies and individual Christians outside Southern Africa to use all their influence, including stockholder action and divestment to press corporations to withdraw investments from and cease trading with these countries."

In the context of the multiple strategies recommended at the Addis Ababa meeting of the Central Committee in 1971, the Central Committee said it was aware of and appreciated the proposals "to achieve racial justice in Southern Africa through reform (e.g. the preliminary statement by the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany)." However, the Committee said it was "convinced that the policy of withdrawal already commended by the Uppsala Assembly needs to be implemented now."

The divestment resolution has encouraged considerable debate within and outside the churches. It was inspired amongst other things by the positive experience US churches already had in this field. For most churches and individual Christians in Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand, however, it was something new to take part in stockholder actions and challenge multinational corporations investing in Southern Africa concerning their policies and practices on black workers.

Many synods and church assemblies have put the issues on their agendas. Some took immediate action; others preferred more research and information. One of these was the Netherlands Reformed Church. Its Synod neither rejected nor adopted the WCC position, but implemented a policy of studying and discussing the issue on various levels, so as to make a responsible decision possible before the Nairobi Assembly. In order to stimulate these discussions in the local parishes, the Council on Church and Society was asked to prepare an informative booklet on South Africa, Apartheid and Investments.

With the Council's permission, the Programme to Combat Racism of the WCC has published an English and German edition of this booklet. It does not necessarily represent the opinion of the Netherlands Reformed Church which believes that any discussion on apartheid and disinvestment is helped by a position paper on the situation in South Africa and by listening to the voices of black people.

The author, Robert van Waesberge, a free-lance journalist, is well equipped for his task. He has made thorough studies of apartheid and is a regular contributor of articles on Southern Africa to church and secular periodicals in the Netherlands. He was the co-author of a book on Mozambique in 1974.

We welcome this contribution of a member church to the discussion on such a vital issue and hope that other churches, groups and individuals will also benefit from the many insights presented here. Apartheid, racism and the denial of human rights are a serious threat to our common humanity and incompatible with the nature of the Church of Christ. On this there has been a long-standing theological consensus in the ecumenical movement. Since 1968 the WCC has tried to translate some of its words into actions. The resolution on disinvestment is one example of how Christians can become involved in responsible stewardship, both collectively and individually.

This booklet has already proved to be of great use for discussion by church and groups at the local and national levels. It deserves to be read with a view to action.

Baldwin C. Sjollema

It could have been you. Or me. Or all of us. But it was Jacob de Vries who received the letter. A letter from David Mboyo, a black South African. A letter which was actually meant for all of us, which is why we are joining in reading it over Jacob's shoulder.

What is this letter all about?

A number of pressing questions are asked. Such as: Do we really know what everyday life involves for black South Africans? How much thought do we give to it, and do we want to have anything to do with it? Do we know what apartheid means in practice? What do we do about it? And what is the attitude of our church?

And another burning question: Do we help in one way or another to pay for apartheid? Maybe simply by buying certain products — for example, South African oranges? What do we do about shares we may hold in firms which invest in South Africa? And if we ourselves do not have any, what does our church do with its own shares? Are we not also responsible for that? Do we do anything at all? And if we do nothing, are we not really helping to perpetuate apartheid?

What would you have done if you had received such a letter? Jacob de Vries thought for a long time about it, and talked to various people, before he wrote the following answer:

Dear Brother,

I have read your letter attentively and I have tried to inform myself as fully as possible about your questions which, I have to confess, were rather new to me. It seems to me that opinions are divided on this problem amongst the people in our church. We are agreed about one thing, namely that apartheid, under which you are forced to live, is an abominable system. But then the difficulties arise. You write about shares held by the church; you ask whether we ourselves or other members of the congregation perhaps have shares. You also ask about our eating habits.

We have tried to understand the motives behind your questions. But isn't the situation very complex? There is talk of a boycott, but wouldn't a boycott actually work to the disadvantage of your people, the black South Africans? And is the business world really as bad as is sometimes claimed? A delegation of Dutch Christian businessmen who have recently been to your country assured me that investments in South Africa certainly benefit the blacks.¹

For that matter, to be honest, another problem is to what extent can the

church participate in politics? To what extent should the church involve itself in campaigns at shareholder meetings?

I must admit that we are not finished with this matter yet. Our church is presently conducting talks with the directors of various firms with subsidiaries in your country, in the hope, and perhaps even the expectation, that the business world investing in South Africa can be persuaded to pursue a good social and wages policy. If I were to believe the Christian businessmen (and why should I not) there has recently been a clear move among western firms in general to introduce a series of reforms and improvements in South Africa. It seems to me that the task of our church is to accompany this process as critically and honestly as possible.

I do hope that I have answered your questions satisfactorily.

*Yours sincerely,
Jacob de Vries.*

One and a half weeks later, Jacob de Vries, and thus all of us, received an express letter from South Africa. This is the letter:

Dear Brother,

If I may be just as honest as you, your letter has disappointed me and caused me pain. You talk about reforms and improvements brought about by the western business world. We blacks do not notice any of them. Daily life is still hell for us.

You call the situation complex. I can imagine that it is so for you. But isn't it a great luxury to be able to call the situation complex? To what extent does that correspond to the everyday reality which cries out for a fundamental change?

For me your letter speaks at a sad distance. Yet I have noticed that you have taken my questions seriously. I would therefore like to invite you to come to South Africa in order to see all the misery and pain for yourself. And to investigate for yourself to what extent your church can make a contribution to our liberation.

You will realize that unfortunately I cannot pay your travel expenses, but would like to be your host, if you are prepared to accept my humble dwelling for what it is.

If you do decide to come, I would like to request you to come in the spirit of St Luke 12:54-57: "He also said to the multitudes, When you see a cloud rising in the west, you say at once, 'A shower is coming'; and so it happens. And when you see the south wind blowing, you say, 'There will be scorching heat'; and it happens. You hypocrites! You know how to interpret the appearance of earth and sky; but why do you not know how to interpret the present time? And why do you not judge for yourselves what is right?"

*Yours sincerely,
David Mboyo*

Jacob de Vries decides, after consultation with his minister and his congregation, to accept the invitation. But his journey will become an imposs-

ible one. Of course, both the correspondence quoted above and de Vries's visit to South Africa are imaginary. But David Mboyo did not really have to write a letter in order to bring this message to us. If we listen carefully to the voices of our oppressed fellow human beings in South Africa, we can hear Mboyo's words and questions personally directed at us every day. And what de Vries will see in South Africa will be the living reality of that other South Africa, the reality which Mboyo calls a daily hell. A reality which exists, but which no white visitor can see with his own eyes because the white South African government has declared certain areas prohibited terrain to the visitor. The notice-board behind the barbed wire reads: "Bantu Area — Trespassers will be prosecuted".² Jacob de Vries's journey to South Africa will only make sense when these boards and prohibitions are ignored.



Johannesburg. Jan Smuts airport. In the distance, skyscrapers. Beautiful weather. A black porter takes de Vries's suitcase. The words: "What can I do for you, boss?" First encounter with apartheid.

By "whites only" taxi to the city. Doing shopping. Flowers. Again by taxi to the outskirts of Johannesburg. He walks further, to Soweto,³ South Africa's "most prosperous" black quarter, prohibited for whites, unless in comfortable touring-cars following a prearranged route. In the advertising folder this ghetto is hailed as Johannesburg's "*most important tourist attraction*".⁴ Jacob walks through Soweto. He sees the tiny, monotonous brick houses standing in straight lines. Well over one million people live here, packed together in these houses. Streets without names. Untarred roads. Dust. Underfed children, outside on the ground.

David Mboyo and Jacob de Vries shake hands. They enter the house. Two rooms, a cement floor, two tiny windows, no electricity, no table and only one chair. Some blankets lie on the floor. David carefully puts the flowers into an empty milk bottle.

They talk to each other. A little unaccustomed as yet. About Jacob's journey, about Holland and about David's work as a garbage-collector. They decide to call each other by their Christian names.

Jacob has refused the chair. They are both sitting on the floor. Jacob has come to learn, and timidly he asks his first questions about apartheid, about South Africa and what it is like to be black in this country.

David: "Life in South Africa is characterized for us by *white supremacy*. One would think that we are strangers in our own country. Actually, it is much worse. We are treated like cattle instead of like people. We may not live where we want to, we may not marry whom we wish, we may not go where we like, we may not choose our work for ourselves, and we may not believe in God in the manner in which we ourselves prefer. We require permission for everything. If I want to visit my family then I have to ask permission; if I want to change my job I am threatened. The whole system means that we are humiliated every day, and that we are afraid.

"You see, every black South African must carry a pass.⁵ Here is mine.

A booklet with my photograph, my registration number, place of residence, name, address, the amount of tax that I have paid, a monthly signature of my employer, the proof that I am an African (Bantu, the whites say) and some other things. I have to produce this pass *immediately* by order of the police. That means that if I am working here at home and I have taken my jacket off and I go outside for a little while, to the toilet, I can be arrested because I cannot produce my pass on demand. If I were to resist arrest

then the police have the right *by law*⁶ to kill me.

"Besides, the police regularly raid the black areas at night. They hold real raids; the *black marias* (pick-up trucks) are ready. And if you are taken from your bed and you do not have your pass, you are arrested. In this way on average 2,000 Africans are arrested every day on the sole grounds of the pass laws.⁷ *To be arrested is part of the normal pattern of life for us blacks.* Each year about 10% of the total African population is prosecuted for transgressing the apartheid laws. So the prisons are full. And the prisoners are often hired out to farmers in the area for 14 US cents a day to work for nothing on the land. Yes, the prisons are at present especially built in the rural areas."

"It is true that there are blacks working for us. They will continue to work for us for generations, in spite of the ideal that we have to separate them completely. . . The fact of the matter is this: we need them because they work for us. . . But the fact that they work for us can never entitle them to claim political rights. Not now, nor in the future. . . under no circumstances."

(Prime Minister Mr J. B. Vorster, in the House of Assembly, 24 April 1968.⁸)

Jacob is still sitting with David's pass in his hands. A little perplexed, he asks why on earth the passes are necessary.

David: "That concerns the whole structure of the apartheid society which is based upon absolute control over the black people. What is apartheid really about? Well, we blacks are supposed to work for the whites. We constitute the pillars on which the white economy rests. Every fifteen-year-old African youth has to report to a so-called labour bureau, a governmental institution. Together with his pass and as a silenced serf of the system of apartheid, he is allotted a job which he must accept. A frigid note in his pass then regulates the rest of his life.

"In addition, apartheid envisages the separation of black and white. The whites constitute 16% of the total population and possess 87% of the land which contains the rich, prosperous, fertile and mineral-rich areas. And the blacks live in 13% of the country in the so-called Bantustans⁹ or homelands or reserves. Scattered pieces of land, barren and economically not viable; a pool of human misery with 1 million unemployed.

"In practice, the policy of the Bantustans requires that most of the blacks who work for the whites live temporarily in the so-called white areas and that the economically unproductive blacks are removed from the white areas. Deported, one can say. The government calls it 'resettled'.¹⁰ Since 1960 until now, some 1.5 million Africans have been forced to resettle. When they refused, the baton, tear gas or the barrel of the gun was used. About 3 million more will also be required to disappear: the ill, the aged, old-age pensioners, children and the infirm may not continue to live where they have perhaps lived for many years and where they have grown up. Because the responsible deputy minister Froneman described them as

'superfluous appendages'. He said: 'We settle many elderly people. If they do nothing in the white homeland, they may just as well do nothing in the Bantu homeland. . . There are many Bantu children who do nothing. They simply stay with their mother or with their grandmother or whoever it may be. They do not work at all. Then they may as well go and stay in their homelands and do nothing. . .'¹¹

"You should visit one of these resettlement camps, Jacob, then you can see how these people whom the whites consider economically unproductive are discarded. And when you have seen the poignancy of this pointless life with your own eyes, and you go back to your own country, maybe you will think about this line of poetry by the South African James Matthews: 'The great white father who hastily turns towards the sport pages when confronted with reports of children dying in the wasteland of resettlement areas.'¹²"

It is already late at night and David and Jacob go to bed. Jacob cannot sleep. He is thinking about everything he has heard. He sees again David's face when he said that his wife had died last year from tuberculosis. And he is afraid of the police raids. Because after all, isn't he in Soweto without permission? For the first time Jacob feels through and through how an African must feel every day.

"We stand for Christian Nationalism, which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call the anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany National Socialism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism." (B.J. Vorster in 1942.¹³)

Jacob decided in consultation with David to go to the resettlement camp of Dimbaza, which used to be called Mnxesha.¹⁴ By plane to East London, then by bus and still a stretch to walk.

What Jacob saw was abject poverty, dilapidation and deprivation. David's stories were not exaggerated. Ragged, hungry-looking children, a bent old woman. And one tiny baby, a virtual skeleton, covered with flies and unable to move or even to cry.

Ten thousand people live here, for the greater part women and children. The bulk of the houses are two-roomed, cement-under-asbestos structures with no floors or ceilings. On the streets are water taps. The new arrivals in Dimbaza are housed in wooden huts with corrugated iron roofs. Three adults and four children have to live in a space which measures 3 x 5 metres.

Although Jacob was so overwhelmed by all the misery, he decided to risk talking to the people. Some said they were told by an official that at Dimbaza they would have proper houses with a bath and a stove; there would be shops and other facilities, and special bachelor quarters with their own kitchens and cooks. Others claimed they were told that if they did not move dogs would be set on them. And, as one said: *"You can't say no to a white man."*

Jacob also talked to a woman who had requested the (white) authorities

to send her to prison rather than to Dimbaza. "Life here is worse than in prison. I suffer from asthma and have since contracted tuberculosis, and the dampness of my home is making it worse. The food shortage is depressing."¹⁵

For the few men who live in Dimbaza there is no work, except for building still more houses so that still more Africans can be resettled.

When Jacob left, the picture of the children's graves remained with him for a long time. Four hundred graves in three years. The holes are dug beforehand.

Jacob cursed softly. He could not do a thing about it. And he knew that the situation in Stinkwater, Duiwelskloof, Vogelstruiskop, Vergelegen, Limehill, Ilinge and all the other resettlement camps is similar.

"The Native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister." (Report of a South African governmental Commission.¹⁶)

Back with David in Soweto. The conversation was about the rights of the black South Africans in the so-called white areas. David: "We have abso-



50% of the black children in South Africa die before their 5th birthday

lutely no rights. We have no right to vote, our trade unions are not recognized, we may not strike.¹⁷ Political organizations are banned and our political leaders are imprisoned on Robben Island.¹⁸ Samuel Chibane has a life sentence; so have Sakeus Itika, Ahmed Kathrada, Dimake Malepe, Nelson Mandela, Jeff Masemula, Govin Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Isaac Mthiminye, John Nkosi, Walter Sisulu, Philemon Tefu, Eliaser Tuhadeleni, Makalia Ushona, Messack Victory and still others, and many, many more have been imprisoned on sentences of ten years, fifteen years, or twenty years *because they sought a just society*.¹⁹ But Minister of Justice Pelser thinks that 'political prisoners are worse than murderers'. "There are about 8,500 political prisoners in this country."²⁰ The majority of them are black. Many have been tortured.²¹ Premier Vorster has himself admitted in parliament that he has seen people who have been 'broken' by torture.²²

"Besides, a great number of people are imprisoned without having been brought to court. This is also possible according to the law. The infamous '180 Days Law' of 1965 gives the police the right to hold suspects, or even people suspected of possessing important evidence, in solitary confinement for 180 days. After this time the man or woman in question can be arrested again.²³ A well-known case is Alfred Nzo who was detained for 247 days for interrogation, whilst suffering from a serious heart complaint. He was then released, after which he had to spend several months in hospital.²⁴

"There are many other laws which throttle our freedom."²⁵ For example, there is the Sabotage Act of 1962, of which only one out of the 22 articles is actually concerned with sabotage — the remaining articles envisage regimenting the blacks. A prominent delegation from the International Commission of Jurists declared that this law 'reduced the liberty of the citizen to a degree not surpassed in the most extreme dictatorship of the Left or Right.'²⁶

"And of course there is still the Terrorism Act of 1967 which affects the principles of every democratic state, since the accused is considered guilty until he has proven his innocence²⁷ — a reversal of the usual principle. According to this law you can be sentenced to death or to life imprisonment for inciting animosity among the different races. You might then ask yourself whether the authorities do not realize that they themselves are the first to come into consideration for condemnation under this law. . ."

"The Bantu are present here for the sake of their labour. That labour is regulated by statute; they cannot simply accept work at random and at will . . . I have on many previous occasions said that the Bantu are here in a loose capacity, exclusively on the basis of their labour. They are not here in a permanent capacity to acquire what you and I can acquire. . ." (M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, in Parliament on 3 February 1972.²⁸)

Jacob stares sadly before him as David speaks, almost emotionless. For him it is new, but for David and for every other African it is everyday life.

Jacob, who has become cynical, asks what Africans are good for, then. David: *"We blacks live in order to work for the whites. The Bantustans are reservoirs of cheap labour. The whites, the South African (white) industry and the foreign investors can profit to their heart's content from this. But the whites do not merely want cheap labour. They want the best of two worlds. They want cheap labour, they want absolute control and they want to be able to remove Africans at any desired moment. What did they do then? They introduced the migrant labour system."*²⁹

"What does this mean in practice? Let us first think about any unemployed African in the 'Bantustans' — just one of the 1 million.³⁰ As unemployed persons they are compelled to report to a labour bureau. There they look whether there is a vacancy for the black in the so-called white areas. If not, they are refused work. If so they get a contract for one year. At the end of that year, they have to report afresh to look for a new job. They must accept the work which the labour bureau offers, at the risk of banishment to a labour camp. They have absolutely no rights. By law, the contract can be terminated by the labour bureau at any moment. The Bantu Law Amendment Acts of 1963 and 1964³¹ empower the labour bureau to dissolve the contract and dismiss the African immediately, forcing them to return to their Bantustan 'if they are found to be suffering



Housing migrant labourers

from any disease considered to be dangerous to public health'. If you think carefully about this, it means that in practice a black who becomes ill in South Africa does not have to be cured; he/she can be banished with his/her infectious disease to a place far away from the whites which is called 'his/her own territory'. Can anything be more racist than that?

"But this is still not the end of the story. Apart from the fact that the sword of dismissal or deportation hangs ominously over the African's head his living conditions during his contract are also degrading. There are about 1.5 million contract or migrant labourers in South Africa. They may not take their wives and children with them to the white area. Just consider how many families are torn apart in this way. Women who stay behind alone.³² And men who, on their return after one year, are not recognized by their own children: children who call their own father 'uncle'.³³ And the father has to leave again after one or two months for a new contract; he is considered merely as an economic unit of production, deprived of any dignity as a human being.³⁴

"And how are the migrant labourers housed?³⁵ In dormitories where eight men often sleep in one room on iron beds without mattresses.³⁶ Sixteen men have to share one single-plate coal stove and one concrete table, at which ten men can sit at a time. There is one electric light and one shower. Or they 'live' in barracks at the factory where they work. *Fifty-six men packed like sardines in narrow double-decker concrete bunks, separated from each other by a low, thin partition.*³⁷ A living space which is just sufficient for stretching your body. Newspapers are used as mattresses on the hard stony substratum. Women are not allowed to visit them. And a curfew compels the men to be at 'home' by 10 p.m.³⁸ But, you know, Jacob, you should go and see for yourself."

"You have the problem that you don't always know exactly when to change over from police action to military action. But South Africa has now reached the stage where . . . it is becoming more and more a war of low intensity." (The Minister of Defence, Botha, on 14 March 1974.³⁹)

Jacob wanted to find out whether reforms bring about improvements, so he visited Alexandra⁴⁰, Johannesburg's most modern African quarter, where 60,000 migrant labourers are housed.

What Jacob saw was no joyful sight: 24 colourless buildings with bedrooms in which four to eight men share a single iron bed, with thin plastic mattresses. No sitting-rooms, no dining-room. The kitchens contain cheap clusters of gas rings, which appear to have been so designed that they are sure to break. No space to eat here, either. The sinks in the kitchens are used as wash-basins.

As far as possible and in so far as Jacob is trusted as a white and thus as an outsider, he tries here and there to exchange some words. An anonymous factory worker — one of the many — from the Bantustan Gazankulu, told him:⁴¹ "I registered my name at the labour bureau at Giyani, the village from which I come. One day I was called because a white man from

Johannesburg wanted some workers for his factory. Fourteen of us were signed on that day. That is to say, we were told that we would be paid R9 (=36 guilders) per week to start off with and that we would be allowed to come home once a year for two weeks. We would be housed in Alexandra and that would cost us R3 per month. I did not receive a copy of this contract. My reference book was stamped.

"I am glad that I have a job, although I am not happy, because I am far away from my family. But if I were living there at home with no work to do I would not be happy either. It is necessary for me to go to Johannesburg for a job, but the white man's laws do not allow me to take my wife and children there with me.

"Life in Alexandra is like being one of a herd of cattle. We are eight men in a room. You never feel that you are in your own place. It is very hard and discouraging. You cannot be a man; you feel like an animal.

"You see, I am a Christian, and I try to live the Christian life. But that is not easy. Life is very lonely and boring. And so you are easily exposed to all sorts of temptations. Gambling, drinking and women. I must admit that I do have some girlfriends in the city. I feel guilty about it, so I drink more. And what hurts me most is when my white boss tells me that I am still very backward, primitive, a sort of savage with no sense of life and its value.

"I think that is unfair. We did not choose to live in that way. We are forced to live that way. And this is destroying us. For a Christian this is very hard. Sometimes I wonder if it is worth being a Christian, and what difference it really makes."

Jacob was overwhelmed. He simply could not help it. But there was another matter which oppressed him. He had seen the three rooms outside the gates:⁴⁰ the police charge office, the thickly-walled cell, and the control room. The control room was especially terrifying. A control room with a switchboard from which wires go to all corners of the hostel. A construction which makes it possible at the touch of a button to lock off any group of corridors or hostels with heavy, steel doors. Nobody would be able to enter or leave. Jacob was shocked at the very thought of Africans having to live under a permanent threat of being incarcerated, whenever the city council or the police considered it necessary. He asked himself whether South Africa is not in a state of war. What did David write, again? Luke 12: "Why do you not know how to interpret the present time?"

"The Republic of South Africa has always been regarded by foreign investors as a gold mine, one of those rare and refreshing places where profits are great and problems small" (The influential American business paper *Fortune*.⁴²)

Jacob felt terribly depressed. Everything he had seen had overpowered and shocked him. He didn't want to ask any more questions because they sounded so cold and technical. He was still wrestling with the problem of foreign investments. After all, part of his correspondence with David was devoted to this question, and it was an important issue in Jacob's church. He had also talked most about it to others in Holland. But David put his mind at ease: "You may ask whatever you want to. After all, you have come here for that. I shall answer you to the best of my ability and try to help you."

The first subject which Jacob broached concerned the wages of the blacks. He had heard that the wages of Africans had increased considerably in 1973 and he wondered whether this favourable development could not be further stimulated.

David: "I would like to say something about the wages of blacks, if only because I know there is a lot of discussion on this subject in Europe. But I would like first of all to say that the debate about wages is in my opinion the wrong place to begin. All the talk about wage increases merely serves to distract the attention from what is really at stake: our freedom. You whites always talk about material things; we blacks talk about freedom.⁴³ After all, isn't that what the debate is really about?"

"But still, you asked about wages. *First, why do you think that the foreign firms are so keen to establish themselves in South Africa?* Naturally, among other things, because the wages are so low, and therefore the profits so high. Investments in this country provide the second highest rate of profit in the world.⁴⁴ But in this rich country, the situation for us blacks is becoming more and more gloomy.⁴⁵ While foreign investments increased five-fold during the past five years, per capita income for Africans decreased by about 1.7% a year.⁴⁶ *So what meaning is there in the argument that investments benefit the Africans?*

"You asked about the wage increase during 1973. In December 1973 the *Financial Mail*, an influential South African business weekly which is by no means a champion of our cause, talked about wages for that year: 'Measured in percentages the increased wages often appear to be spectacular, but the starting point is usually so low that the net increase in rands



The Baragwanath hospital

is small.⁴⁷ Mid-April 1974, the *Financial Mail* published a statistically representative survey carried out in all parts of the country at 170 firms which employed a total of more than 30,000 Africans. The results were as we would have expected. Although wages increased, the cost of living increased more sharply. Our wages are still below the absolute subsistence level as calculated by *white* authorities.

"The absolute subsistence level is called the Poverty Datum Line (PDL). In Johannesburg the average black wage is now 65 rand per month, while the PDL for Johannesburg is 85 rand. In Durban the average income is 89 rand; the PDL is 110 rand. In Cape Town an African receives 77 rand each month in his pay envelope, while the PDL is 85 rand.⁴⁸

"You see, then, that the people earn less than the wage fixed as an absolute poverty line. But wait till I tell you what the PDL actually means! It is determined from time to time by white institutions such as the chambers of commerce or universities, which calculate the amount with which they think an African family of five persons can make ends meet. The amount is considered to cover food, clothing and housing. There is nothing left for the doctor, chemist, school books, furniture, pots, pans, a bed, a packet of cigarettes. It is about the absolute minimum level of subsistence. And even then, some remarkable assumptions are made. It is assumed that a black does not require a winter coat in this climate. But the people who fixed the PDL never had to stand in the cold at half past five on a winter morning waiting for a train to go to work. They also assume that Africans need less food, because they eat so little in daily life. Do the whites really not understand that we eat so little because we earn so little?⁴⁹ Let me summarize what I have said about the wages: Foreigners invest in South Africa, because the wages are so low and the profits are so enormous. Foreign investments have increased tremendously in recent years. The prospects for us blacks are getting worse. All the Western firms — without exception, I believe — compliment themselves that they are paying higher wages than is legally necessary. Seventy per cent of black South Africans live below the absolute Poverty Datum Line, and 95% below the Basic Minimum Level, a line which indicates the very minimum necessary for decent human living.⁵⁰ White wages rise while apparently it is impossible to increase black wages because, among other things, there would then be a danger of unemployment, as Shell has pointed out.⁵¹ If black labour is no longer cheap, automation will have to be introduced. Black labour will thus remain cheap. At the Baragwanath hospital, not far from here, you can see for yourself what that means in terms of malnutrition and infant mortality. And I repeat my question: *Why should foreign investments benefit us?*"

"How Mr X increased his investments by 81% in just 14 months: I want to tell you the true story of Mr X, who has asked me not to publish his name in case he gets hammered by the Income Tax Authorities . . ."
(Advertisement in the *Financial Mail*, 18 January 1974.)

The Baragwanath hospital.⁵² Many underfed patients.⁵³ Children lie across one another, body touching body, on the floor. Or, if they are lucky, three of them in one little bed. Some men have made a bed from four chairs. Outside there are people on the ground, some on stretchers, waiting for their turn, sometimes for several days. There are also people lying in the corridors, on the floor. Underfed. And waiting for doctors who call infrequently. After treatment, the convalescent patients are taken to what is known as a "dumping ward". They are "dumped" there and forgotten. They do not get washed and their clothes are not changed. Many "convalescents" are bleeding and some die. Jacob clenched his fists. He thought about the other facts which David had given him. That each year 40,000 Africans, mostly children, are treated for kwashiorkor or gastroenteritis, both typical malnutrition diseases.⁵⁴ That only one out of forty underfed patients gets to a doctor and that, therefore, each year 1.6 million blacks are in reality struck down by lack of food.⁵⁵ That half of the black children die before their fifth year and that the death of these children (about one every three minutes) is caused by hunger which is an integral part of the apartheid system.⁵⁶ *And Jacob also considered the amount of profits which flows abroad.* And that more than 300,000 black labourers who work in the South African gold mines receive only half of the wage fixed as the absolute Poverty Datum Line. And 300,000 times the other half is less than the amount paid out annually as dividends to the shareholders, most of whom live abroad.⁵⁷

"We have run this country on cheap labour, underpaid our staff, and kept the labour force without power to handle their own affairs and to negotiate for higher wages." (Raymond Ackerman, white South African top marketing manager.⁵⁸)

Jacob introduced a new point into the discussion, mentioning that in some European churches⁵⁹ there are groups pressing firms with investments in South Africa to start wage negotiations with the unrecognized black trade unions.

David: "In Europe I understand that the trade unions have to negotiate hard for every small wage increase, and that the employers really do not take the initiative to pay high wages. So is it reasonable to believe that the western firms with investments in South Africa will go to much trouble to get into contact with the black trade unions? *Or is one of the reasons why this country has such a pleasant climate for investments precisely because the black trade unions are not recognized and that it is illegal to strike?*

"Recently, the various South African employers' organizations, to which the foreign investors also belong, expressed their views on this matter. The Natal Chamber of Commerce has declared itself categorically against recognition of black trade unions.⁶⁰ Ted Hotchkins, chairman of the Chamber, even doubted whether Africans want trade unions!⁶¹ Can you imagine a more paternalistic remark? And Error Drummond, director of

the Steel and Machine Federation which provides work for 300,000 black employees, declared that 'in this industry there will be no — and you can underline no — negotiations with African trade unions.'⁶² This means that we who give ourselves and our sweat through our work have no say in the matter.⁶³ This was also confirmed by the *Financial Mail* which has conducted a survey among a number of typical foreign firms; not a single one was prepared to conduct negotiations with the black trade unions. The *Financial Mail* also concluded that the businessmen thought that they were living in a fool's paradise, to which I have nothing to add.⁶⁴ Obviously it is very convenient for the business world that wage negotiations are conducted for the blacks by the white government. In practice, it often happens that the government even advises a wage decrease.⁶⁵ "The power of the government and business world is strengthened by the white trade unions. It is commonly agreed that these three constitute a common interest.⁶⁶ The powerful white trade union, TUSCA, has opposed black trade union rights on several occasions.⁶⁷ Besides, whenever a few whites stand up for our rights they are immediately 'banned' by the government, with the approval of the TUSCA leadership. Take, for example, the house arrests of David Hemson, David Davies, Jeannette Cunningham and Halton Cheadle.⁶⁸ There is thus a sort of unholy alliance between the business world (including foreign investors), the government and trade unionism which perpetuates the power structure of white supremacy.

"Whenever we blacks try to demand our rights we experience the most terrible reprisals. During the wave of strikes in Durban in 1969, armed police intervened and the employers dismissed all the 3,000 strikers. When the strikers did not comply with an order of the authorities to be back at work within four hours, they were banned to the 'Bantustans', with no work and no future.⁶⁹ TUSCA had already reacted earlier by rejecting all the black trade unions (even though they were not recognized) which were at that moment affiliated to this white union.⁷⁰

"During the strikes at the beginning of 1973 we saw the same display of power. Two strong units of police were rushed in by aeroplane.⁷¹ The Minister of Labour, Marais Viljoen, declared that he would take tough measures,⁷² and the City Council of Durban threatened to dismiss 16,000 strikers.⁷³ One hundred and fifty black strikers were arrested and photographed at the police office.⁷⁴ Whenever negotiations took place between the firms and the workers the police were there with machine guns.⁷⁵ And when dismissals are made, sometimes a hundred at a time, it is done under the watchful eyes of the police and their dogs.⁷⁶ And you must not think that Africans are dismissed only during mass strikes. Only recently British Leyland, a large motor industry, dismissed 104 Africans who stopped working in order to add force to their demands for black trade unions.⁷⁷ In 1973 14 workers were killed by the police during strikes in Carletonville.

"You may ask what is the value of a strategy designed to persuade businessmen to join hands with black trade unions in a climate characterized

by terror and the maintenance of power. A strategy which is also riddled with dangers, because even if African trade unions are actually recognized as negotiating partners, what guarantee is there that they will not simply be taken over by white leadership? Besides, it is a historical fact that the South African government only permits those organizations which constitute no danger to the apartheid system.⁷⁸ The strategy to obtain recognition of the black trade unions also seems impracticable in view of a new South African law recently adopted by parliament called the Affected Organizations Act.⁷⁹ This law makes it impossible for all kinds of organizations to receive money from abroad, *and black trade unions are actually dependent upon funds from abroad.*⁸⁰

"We must remember that reform is true conservatism." (Harry Oppenheimer, South African mining magnate.⁸¹)

Jacob: "We have talked about wages and about black trade unions. But what do you think about foreign firms which provide training facilities for black workers? And what about gradual reforms, a process in which the business world itself could play an important role?"

David: "Training of Africans by the firms is one of the reforms from which much is expected in Europe. To be quite frank, I cannot understand why. One of the four principles of 'Bantu Education' expounded by Dr Verwoerd and still in force today reads: *'Education must train the people in accordance with their future possibilities under the system of apartheid.'*⁸² That means in fact that education must train Africans to be servile to their white masters. Businessmen invariably say that they adhere strictly to the directions of the government of the country. So how could businessmen in South Africa provide training for their black workers leading to a future decidedly different from that envisaged by the apartheid system? But only such training could be considered a genuine reform.

"Of course I am happy about every African who learns to read and write, even though the motives are those of a businessman who seeks to increase his production in this way. But the point is that the whole concept of reforms through education is based on a form of paternalism. For example, it is suggested that education would stimulate a process whereby Africans would become politically aware, as if we need education designed in the interests of businessmen in order to liberate ourselves! Throughout our history we have organized our protest demonstrations, strikes and campaigns, in which hundreds of thousands of Africans have actively participated.⁸³ And if our resistance has become less pronounced then it is because we have been silenced by the government and our organizations closed down by the security police, and not because we did not have sufficient education.

"Your question about reforms by the business world has a similar answer. People try to reconcile the irreconcilable. Don't you think it is ironical to expect true reforms from the businessmen who profit from the main-

tenance of the status quo?⁸⁴ Time after time, South African history has taught that whenever the business world has to choose between human rights and self-interest the balance is always heavily weighted towards self-interest; the economic and political rights of Africans count for nothing. So why do people still believe that reform can come from the business world? Besides, why must it be gradual reform? Must we wait still longer for our liberation? The Christian Institute says that there is not much time left,⁸⁵ and I believe that is true. Finally a choice will have to be made. All experiments at reform so far have failed.⁸⁶ They have foundered on the veto of the South African government, on the unwillingness of the business world, in short on the built-in impossibility of the experiment. So why the continual hammering about cautious reforms? Is it because no one dares to contemplate the radical and fundamental reforms which are necessary for our freedom? Is it perhaps lack of courage? When you return to Holland, I would like you to put this question to your compatriots and especially to the members of your church, because I think and hope that in the final analysis they want to act in solidarity with us."

"The parallel between Hitler's treatment of the Jews . . . and South Africa's treatment of the blacks today became daily more obvious to me in the course of my visit and was brought home most vividly to me when I saw blacks being literally herded like cattle through the Bantu Administration Courts. Just as I think with hindsight it would have been totally wrong to do anything to connive at Nazism in those days, so also do I think we should do nothing that would help to perpetuate apartheid." (Neil Wates, a prominent building contractor who has refused an invitation for his company to do business with South Africa.⁸⁷)

Listening to his story, Jacob wondered if David was in agreement with the withdrawal of foreign investments, as advocated by the World Council of Churches. But he still has some questions. People in Holland had been led to believe that foreign investments produced economic development which allowed blacks to obtain jobs reserved for skilled whites, although this is prohibited by law. This would imply that apartheid could actually be undermined by foreign investments in South Africa.⁸⁸

David: "Yes, I know that argument. The idea is that foreign investments and the consequent economic growth will lead to a shortage of skilled labour. According to the law — the Job Reservation Act — Africans are not permitted to do most of the skilled work. But because of economic growth and the increased need for skilled labour, this law is presently being applied more leniently.⁸⁹ All sorts of strange situations arise as a result. For example, black labourers may nowadays apply the first coat of paint to a house or a car, but applying the second coat is still strictly reserved for the whites (who, naturally, are much more intelligent!). In any case, the protagonists of foreign investment look upon the so-called defiance of the Job Reservation Act as an erosion of apartheid and they

use it to defend their viewpoint.

"But this reasoning is really rather naive. What actually happens in practice?⁹⁰ Suppose a white labourer performs a skilled job in a certain factory. The firm expands. The white is promoted. His former job is then sub-divided, and five blacks are appointed to do the work concerned. Then what happens? Production increases, because five people can do more than one. *And the businessman pays less in wages, because five blacks together earn less than one white.*

"This process is called fragmentation and degrading of work. This takes place on a large scale and is, as you will realize, vastly different from an erosion of apartheid. In fact it reinforces the system. The Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPROCAS) of the Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches concluded on the basis of exhaustive research that this undermining of the Job Reservation Act produces no fundamental change, but that it is more likely to ensure the continuation of the white power structure."⁹¹

"Pride is taken in the promise that the black man is being given the right to make some laws to govern himself in a number of reservations. The white government describes these areas as Bantu Homelands. It does not occur to many white people that such a description of black reservations is both an affront and an insult to an intelligent black man who respects himself, loves his people and knows his history." (The black South African Bishop, the Rt Rev. A.H. Zulu.⁹²)

"First and foremost, you'll be helping yourself." (An advertisement of the South African government which appeals to investors to establish themselves in the Bantustans, in the *Sunday Times*, January 1973.⁹³)

So investments aimed at defying the Job Reservation Act do not work. "What is the position concerning investments in the Bantustans?" asked Jacob. "A great deal is also said about this in Holland. Couldn't such investments help to bring about development in the Bantustans?" David: "*Do you think the western firms actually want to invest in areas to which women, children, the chronically sick and the aged are deported? Or are they more interested in perpetuating the unjust structure of the Bantustans, where 70% of the country's population live on 13% of the land?* In December 1970 the General Assembly of the United Nations called the Bantustans 'fraudulent', and 'a violation of the principles of self-determination'.⁹⁴

"Opinions are divided among the blacks on the question of investments in the Bantustans, but I have the strong impression that their thoughts are increasingly guided by the following facts: All investments must first be approved by the white South African government. The main concern seems to be that the investments are made close enough to the white cities to provide white workers with sufficient comfort.⁹⁵ Contract labour will continue to exist.⁹⁶ Whenever minerals are discovered in the



Every day, around 2000 Africans are arrested on the grounds of pass laws

Bantustans the border is changed or the area expropriated.⁹⁷ Furthermore, investment in the Homelands is a gold mine for the whites. Black wages are only one-third as high as in the urban areas.⁹⁸ There are far less legal dispositions, such as those related to social benefits and maximum hours of work, which must be satisfied,⁹⁹ and the South African government is prepared to provide investors with considerable tax concessions, *simply because investment in the Bantustans consolidates the ideology of apartheid.*¹⁰⁰ And there is another side to the problem. The companies often do not even set themselves up in the Bantustans themselves, but in the so-called border areas, just inside the white areas, with all the resulting advantages for the whites. The *Financial Mail* describes the border areas as 'of the greatest significance for maintaining economic prosperity, without losing the white grip on power'.¹⁰¹ SPROCAS mentioned that the black workers in the border areas were made 'schizoid' by all the conflicting interests.¹⁰² I cannot imagine that the churches in the West would want to help in this."

"We have learnt that our large international economic relationships are our best shield in a world which has chosen us as scapegoats." (Professor W.F.J. Steenkamp of the University of South Africa.¹⁰³)

"Every time a South African product is bought, it is another brick in the wall of our continued existence." (Premier J.B. Vorster.¹⁰⁴)

"There is now no longer any doubt that South Africa is a police state." (Official statement of the Christian Institute.¹⁰⁵)

Higher wages are not being paid, African trade union rights are minimal and all the experiments and reforms are doomed to failure. Investments do not help to break the Job Reservation Act and investment in the Bantustans and the border areas serves to promote apartheid. Jacob asked David to sum up his discussion of foreign investments.

David: "I am afraid I shall have to disappoint you, for I cannot think of a single positive aspect of foreign investments. Quite the contrary, foreign capital and know-how are indispensable to South Africa's process of industrialization. The *Financial Mail* writes of a vital interest.¹⁰⁶ But what is the significance of the process of industrialization for us blacks? Again, I will quote SPROCAS. On the basis of an exhaustive study SPROCAS concludes that increased industrialization leads to more oppressive apartheid legislation.¹⁰⁷ This is logical, isn't it? More industries require more Africans in the so-called white areas. And whenever black and white come together in the country of apartheid then it automatically means that the whites introduce a series of laws which keep our activities increasingly under restraint and which violate our most fundamental rights even more heavily. *SPROCAS also believes that growing industrialization is directly responsible for the inhuman system of contract labour and the enormous infringement of freedom of movement to which we blacks are subjected.*¹⁰⁸

"This is one side of the coin. The other side is, if anything, even more

melancholic. In every branch of industry it can be shown that foreign investments support apartheid. *For example, what about all the supplies to the South African government, the army, the police? They actually make oppression possible.*

"Take, for example, the computer industry. A firm like IBM pays relatively high wages, because it employs few blacks. But IBM sells computers to the South African government, which uses them for massive registration of the black population so that the pass laws can function effectively.¹⁰⁹ The motor industry makes military vehicles for the South African army; the chemical industry supplies ammunition. The electronic industry makes, among other things, the tapping apparatus for the security police, whose ramifications are so large and extensive that they control the whole of South African society.¹¹⁰

"Foreign firms often fuse with South African concerns: mergers are entered into, shares and licences are exchanged.¹¹¹ Western investors regularly participate in South African state-owned concerns such as ISCOR (iron and steel) and SASOL (petrol).¹¹² And conversely, the Industrial Development Corporation, a governmental institution, has considerable shareholdings in a large number of foreign concerns.¹¹³

"The fact that foreign and white South African interests are inextricably interwoven also finds expression in the role of western banks. Not only do they provide the capital necessary for rapid industrial development, but since 1970 a combination of North American and European banks (including the AMRO bank) has managed to provide the South African government with a total of \$200,000,000 through a series of *secret loans*.¹¹⁴ These loans have been used for strategic industrial purposes and are quite clearly of political significance. You may be interested to know how a recent SPROCAS publication estimated the true value of the connections between foreign concerns and the South African government. SPROCAS has made a thorough study of Standard Telephones and Cables, a subsidiary of ITT. STC supplies the South African Post Office and telecommunications, the railways, the armed forces and the police. *Working conditions at STC are relatively good. Nobody is paid below the PDL (the minimum subsistence level). But the results of the SPROCAS study, which include a great number of interviews with black workers, were devastating for those who expect great things from foreign investments:* 'It would seem to us to be completely unrealistic to expect that a company in the position of STC could assist in bringing about major social change in South Africa.'¹¹⁵

"Finally, Jacob, you should do some travelling yourself. Go to the companies, talk to the directors, see what they produce and try to find out whom they supply. If you are observant, you'll see exactly how foreign concerns support apartheid, pay for it and make it possible. You will learn something about the colossal power of the western investors and white South Africa."

Relations with the South African government are excellent

4

"The Republic of South Africa has always been regarded by foreign investors as a gold mine, one of those rare and refreshing places profits are great and problems small." (The influential American business paper *Fortune*.)

First to the Stock Exchange in Johannesburg. Forty-one per cent of the transactions are accounted for by foreigners.¹¹⁶ They are, therefore, quite active in South Africa.

Jacob subsequently visits several places. Port Elizabeth. The office buildings of Ford. A short exchange of words with director R.J. Scott, who made Jacob blush to the roots of his hair by saying: "I didn't mix with them (the blacks) in the States; I don't mix with them here, and if I went back to the States, I wouldn't mix with them there either."¹¹⁷

Mr Scott would appear to be no exception. Ford supplies the South African Army.¹¹⁸ The concern provides 15 to 20% of the South African market with motor cars, which are bought almost exclusively by whites. The same picture prevails at General Motors. Opel and Chevrolet cars are put on the market. Speaking of Africans, the director says: "I wouldn't say these people don't have any reasoning power, but what they do have is very limited."¹¹⁹ The director is also quite frank about wages: "General Motors South Africa does not discriminate between the races as to wages — except for a difference in starting rates which are higher for whites than for coloured or native employees."¹²⁰

The relations of General Motors with the South African government appear to be excellent: many blacks arrested by the police are taken to prison in GM vans. The army uses GM trucks.¹²¹

By the time he reached Chrysler Jacob was no longer shocked. Large supplies go to the army and the police.¹²² A member of the directorate declared: "The African doesn't want a trade union . . . He accepts the white man as his guardian."¹²³ To turn to Philips. A large factory at Rosslyn, a border area. What did David say, again? Border areas are pre-eminently the means of securing white supremacy. But the interests of the South African and Philips are accordingly parallel. Philips cooperates with the South African Industrial Development Corporation, a governmental institution, which was given a say in the concern in exchange for certain tax concessions.¹²⁴ Philips also supplies various governmental institutions on a large scale,¹²⁵ including the army.¹²⁶ "Why doesn't Philips make a tiny anti-tapping instrument for all the organizations which have been forced underground by the government?" a black la-

bourer asked cynically.

Jacob's next visit was AE and CI, a British chemical firm. This was one of the few which provided information about profits: in 1973 the net profit (after tax assessment) amounted to more than 95 million Dutch guilders.¹²⁷ According to the management, this was "a very difficult year" on account of wage increases.¹²⁸ AE and CI cooperates with the Industrial Development Corporation and manufactures ammunition for the South African army.¹²⁹

Jacob's nerve began to fail him. But he decided to continue. To the oil companies which are busily engaged in the search for oil, the only raw material which South Africa does not possess. David had told Jacob that the United Nations had adopted a resolution in 1963, urgently requesting member states not to supply South Africa with this strategically important commodity. But Jacob discovered that concerns only refuse to participate in politics when it suits them. Both Caltex and Mobil Oil advertise in South African newspapers that they will make South Africa independent from outside oil supplies.¹³⁰ Shell, together with BP, has entered into cooperation with the state-owned concern SASOL.¹³¹ Shell controls 25% of the petrol market in South Africa.¹³² And Caltex, finally, told Jacob proudly that "we have a healthy working relationship with the government".¹³³

The last remark seemed to be characteristic. During the course of the many other conversations which Jacob had with all kinds of directorates, not even managers who were known as decidedly "left-wing" disagreed. For example, the "progressive" director of Union Carbide, Emlett, said that he was a supporter of white supremacy. And the equally "progressive" director Purce of Goodyear, the American tyre factory, was opposed to an eventual black majority government: "It would cause chaos."¹³⁴ Jacob was disappointed. The conversations had depressed him, but so had the drab misery of the migrant labourers living in overcrowded barracks. Everywhere, at practically every factory, he had seen them; men separated several times a year from their family by the economic system of apartheid.

In one of the rooms of the board of directors, the *Financial Mail* was lying open at a full page advertisement: "Why more than 100 major industrialists selected Pietermaritzburg to establish new factories."¹³⁵ And then two lines about the facilities and comforts for the white staff: houses situated in attractive suburbs, sports facilities (motor racing, swimming pools, etc.) And a business-like line: a direct rail route to the Reef (where the iron-ore is found), plenty of labour and an abundance of water.

David had certainly been right to emphasize that the business world always chooses its own interests, exploiting the blacks who have no economic or political power.

"It took me seven years before I realized that it was not only a few idiotic racist white South African Boers whom we have to fight, but that

the battlefield was much larger. Dom Helder Camara has warned that by the year 2000, the thirty largest multinational concerns will dominate the whole world. But they already now have annually larger turnovers than the majority of the nations. Profit and profit alone is their aim. And for the sake of making profit, they oppress whole peoples." (Colin Winter, deported Anglican Bishop from Namibia.¹³⁶

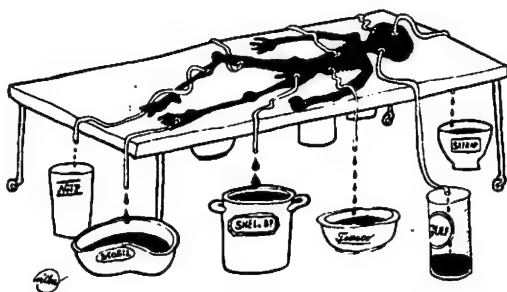
At David's request, Jacob went on to visit Namibia, a former German colony (South West Africa), after the First World War a mandate territory of the then League of Nations and finally virtually incorporated illegally by South Africa as its fifth province. In 1971, the International Court of Justice in The Hague declared that South Africa's control over Namibia was illegal, that this control should immediately be terminated and that the members of the United Nations should institute an economic boycott of South Africa if it refused to comply with the judgment of the Court.

South Africa still wields the sceptre in Namibia, and quite noticeably too. Oppression is even more overt than in South Africa itself. Jacob saw Africans walking practically naked on the streets, spitting their TB-infected phlegm onto the rocks. He saw whites beating blacks up in public. And he saw photographs of Adolf Hitler being given out in a church.¹³⁷

Jacob also visited some companies in Namibia. The Tsumeb Corporation is a subsidiary of American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining.¹³⁸

Together through Tsumeb they represent 80–90% of all foreign investments in Namibia. Contract labour is used exclusively. This system of labour has been described by the International Commission of Jurists as "tending towards slavery." Namibia possesses considerable quantities of minerals: diamonds, copper, tin, zinc and uranium.¹³⁹ African leaders have repeatedly said that foreign concerns are busy exhausting their land.

Rio Tinto Zinc mines uranium in Namibia. Shell, Standard Oil and Chevron possess prospecting rights to search for oil along the coast.¹⁴⁰



"I am not convinced that withdrawal of foreign investment is a weapon that can be successfully used at this particular moment in history."

(Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Premier of the Bantustan Kwazulu, December 1972.¹⁴¹)

Jacob went back to see David. He had learnt a lot and his experiences had made a deep impression on him. After everything he had seen, he could now imagine how the World Council of Churches had arrived at its strategy of withdrawal of foreign investments. But some questions still remained. Because to be in favour of a boycott is one thing, but how does one know that the majority of black South Africans want it too? Jacob said that in Europe one invariably finds that Buthelezi and other Bantustan leaders are quoted who have emphatically opposed withdrawal of investments.¹⁴²

David: "I don't need to tell you that oppression is rampant in this country. The security police and their tens of thousands of informers are everywhere. Anyone who says too much is arrested. You can imagine how careful everyone has to be. We black South Africans are simply not free to express our views. It is therefore interesting to look at the example of Rhodesia. You know that Rhodesia was a former British colony until the white minority under the leadership of Ian Smith unilaterally declared itself independent in 1965, against the will of Britain. Ever since, Rhodesia has been exposed to an economic boycott by the United Nations. Because both Britain and Rhodesia found this situation unsatisfactory, they tried to reach an agreement in 1971. Everything seemed to have been arranged, except that the opinions of black Rhodesians still had to be asked. The arrogant whites did not doubt that the blacks would also approve of the agreement. But what actually happened? *Africans said a massive 'no' to the agreement between Britain and white Rhodesia* and this was the first and only time they were consulted. And in saying 'no', they knew that the boycott of the United Nations would continue! Africans said: 'We are not afraid of UN sanctions, but they — the whites — are.'¹⁴³ *Is it so strange to believe that when black South Africans are in a position to express their views freely their opinion will be similar to that of their black brothers in Zimbabwe?*

"I know that Buthelezi and other Bantustan leaders have opposed the withdrawal of foreign investment. Others are for a boycott. This is sometimes said confidentially to foreigners. For example, Dr Lukas Vischer, a staff member of the World Council of Churches, declared after a 14-day visit to South Africa that he was surprised by the measure of agreement

with the ideas of the World Council expressed by the black population.¹⁴⁴ At other moments, black South Africans, with great personal courage, call publicly for a boycott. The Black Peoples' Convention, one of the very few black organizations which operates outside the Bantustan politics, urgently called for a withdrawal of foreign investments during its congress at the end of 1972. Shortly before the congress, Mtuli Shezi, vice-chairman of the Black Peoples' Convention, died under mysterious circumstances. There was talk of an 'accident'.¹⁴⁵ SASO, the black South African Students' Organization, called for the withdrawal of foreign investments. Its chairman, Abraham Tiro, was recently murdered. Many leaders of both the black Peoples' Convention and SASO have been placed under house arrest by the white authorities.

"You'll appreciate, then, how difficult it is to gauge exactly how large the following of Gatsha Buthelezi is. The point is that we are not free to express our views. So the churches in Europe shouldn't wait for our views but assume their own responsibility regarding foreign investment. They must ask themselves to what extent investment contributes towards our bondage."

"While Africans also have to live from bread, they do not live by bread alone. They have expectations, aspirations and feelings. They cannot give any permission for their own public sale. Fewer employment opportunities, less food and material goods, less educational facilities and more suffering are preferable to the self-betrayal of the soul of the African, of his destination and rights." (Abel Muzorewa, black Rhodesian bishop, at the beginning of 1972.¹⁴⁶)

Jacob does not want to evade his responsibility. After all, he comes from the part of the world that profits from doing business with South Africa. But he wants to know whether or not a boycott is actually disadvantageous to Africans.

David: "The argument that withdrawal of foreign investments is to our disadvantage was first used in Europe by the business world. That is worth noting, because business came to South Africa for its own advantage and not ours. In any case, how powerful is this argument? Again, Rhodesia provides some answers, for it is the only country which has been subjected to a boycott for the past nine years.¹⁴⁷ There has been no increase in unemployment, because the fall in foreign investment has forced the white Rhodesian government to create substitute industries.

The salaries of blacks have risen. Because foreign investment fell, it was essential for the white economy to increase Rhodesia's buying power. Furthermore, domestic buying power is naturally constituted for a considerable part by the black majority. The wages of blacks in Rhodesia are now presented as exemplary by the *Financial Mail* in South Africa!¹⁴⁸ "The situation is similar in South Africa. Foreign industries are geared mainly to exports, and not directed at South Africa itself. The answer to the question whether South Africa would present a different picture from

Rhodesia if foreign investment were withdrawn seems obvious. *It does not seem likely that a boycott would prove economically disadvantageous to black South Africans.* But even if a boycott did have some economic disadvantages for us, the question still remains whether we are not prepared to face them for the sake of liberation. Prior to the referendum in Rhodesia, Bishop Muzorewa repeatedly emphasized that freedom is immeasurably more important than the possibility of an economic recession. Given the result of the referendum, his reasoning evidently made an impact on Rhodesian Africans.

"Besides, all those people who are so worried that the withdrawal of foreign investment might harm the blacks should consider that we virtually cannot suffer more than we do now. And they should also consider the cause of our suffering. Furthermore, the argument that a boycott would not help because many firms would refuse to join in is not really sound. Even a partial boycott can have far-reaching political consequences. A decline in South Africa's economic growth of, say, 2 or 3% could shake the foundations of the white power structure. White supremacy owes its existence to economic growth.

"But here again, Jacob, the final responsibility rests entirely in the hands of your people!"

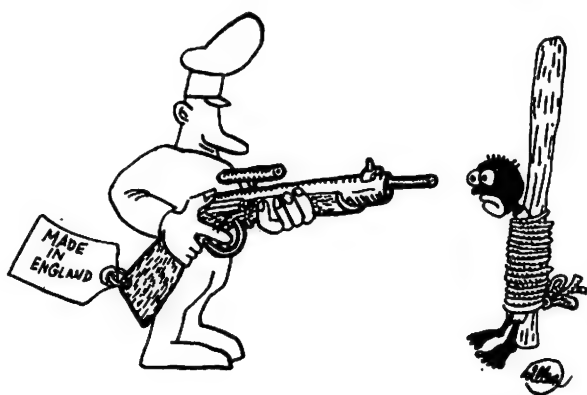
"The Third General Assembly of the All Africa Conference of Churches, meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, reaffirms its support of all efforts to achieve liberation in Southern Africa. The Assembly confirms its commitment to combat racism, and its conviction that the effect of continued foreign investment and white migrations to Southern Africa is to strengthen the white minority regimes." (Meeting of the All Africa Conference of Churches, 11–24 May 1974, Zambia.¹⁴⁹)

Jacob pointed out that it is difficult for Dutch churches to opt for a boycott or withdrawal of foreign investments because the South African churches generally adopt a much more moderate position. There are some objections in the Netherlands to a strategy which ignores the wishes of the South African churches.¹⁵⁰

David: "Generally speaking, I believe, the Church has two functions — a serving task and a prophetic one. Owing to the structure of the apartheid society, with its violence and oppression, and the lack of freedom of the black man to witness, the South African churches, which are still led by whites, are forced to restrict themselves to the service function. They are not permitted to carry out their prophetic task."¹⁵¹

"What do the churches in Europe really want to do? *Do they simply want to follow blindly the lead of the South African churches which are bound by the limitations peculiar to this country, or dare they determine their own course of action, allowing themselves to be led by the signs of the times?*

"Perhaps the statements of the All Africa Conference of Churches, which met recently in Zambia, can help us answer this question. Representatives



of churches from all the African countries met there, unhindered by any form of censure, oppression or intimidation. People were there who had personal experience of bondage and colonialism. Based on their own experience of suffering, they reached several decisions with an overwhelming majority of votes. They said that the effect of foreign investments in Southern Africa strengthened the white minority regimes, and called urgently for the withdrawal of foreign investments; *and they declared that they would investigate the contribution of the western churches in the struggle against racism.*¹⁵²

"That means, Jacob, an investigation into your solidarity with us and also into the possibilities of reconciliation. For how can reconciliation take place when we blacks feel that we have been abandoned? You must realize that the whole of Africa cannot feel really free as long as Southern Africa is still in bondage. Perhaps you can extend this principle to the whole world. How can you really be free in Europe, when we are not free in Southern Africa? And what is the relationship between your freedom and our bondage? I believe these questions affect the task of your church. And the chance of reconciliation depends upon the answers."

"The root cause of the violence which FRELIMO and other liberation movements apply in order to reach their aim should not be sought in Mozambique, Rhodesia, Angola or elsewhere outside South Africa, but, as far as South Africa is concerned, in the sessions of parliament in Cape Town, in the Union Buildings in Pretoria, in the vestries of the churches which defend apartheid and which help to maintain the *status quo*, and in the support which white Christians give to the political, economic, educational and social policy which is aimed at perpetuating the unjust position of power in which the white man finds himself presently." (Dr C.F. Beyers Naudé, director of the Christian Institute, June 1974.¹⁵³)

"You have the problem that you don't always know exactly when to change over from police action to military action. But South Africa has now reached the stage where . . . it is becoming more and more a war of low intensity." (Minister of Defence Botha, 14 March 1974.)

Jacob said that many people in Holland were worried that withdrawal of investments might lead to the outbreak of violence. He added that you can hardly expect the churches to promote violence.

David: "I do not understand this reasoning at all! I wonder whether cause and effect are not being confused. What really happens? The situation is violent already. The United Nations have called apartheid 'a crime against humanity' and 'a threat to peace'. It seems to me that crimes and threats to peace are violent. The incarceration of people who disagree with the system, the violation of human rights, the deportation of the aged and the infirm, the enormous infant mortality rate caused by hunger, — all of these are violent too. This is a situation of *structural violence*: violence which has become embedded in the system. All these acts of violence are perpetrated with the help of the strongest and most up-to-

date armed forces in the whole of Africa; they are the personification of violence. In my opinion, you must also ask how far foreign investment promotes violence. In so far as it strengthens apartheid, the answer seems clear. But there is still another point to be considered.

"As you know, a bloody war, including the use of napalm and chemicals, has been waged since 1961 in the Portuguese colonies — Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. The coup d'état in Portugal of April 1974 has already brought the official independence of Guinea-Bissau, while negotiations in Mozambique between FRELIMO (the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) and the Portuguese government have led to an agreement that power will be handed over to FRELIMO by the middle of 1975. You will appreciate that this achievement fills us with great joy. But on the other hand, we have to guard against false optimism. The war has not yet ended. There is still a possibility that South Africa might intervene militarily in Mozambique. Vorster has already threatened this in parliament.¹⁵⁴ Besides, in the north-east of Rhodesia the guerilla war is gaining momentum. The same applies to Namibia. Southern Africa finds itself in a state of active war and the explosions are becoming more and more frequent.

"Maybe you are wondering what this has to do with foreign investment. In practice, western countries have shown that they are prepared to go to any lengths to protect their profitable investments in Southern Africa.¹⁵⁵ In spite of the arms embargo, the west has provided huge supplies of arms to South Africa and Portugal. It is certainly no exaggeration to claim that Portugal would never have been able to continue its colonial wars for so long without the extensive support of its partners in NATO. France provided helicopters and heavy transport planes, while Germany supplied reconnaissance planes and jet fighters. Italy supplied tanks and 90 mm artillery and the Belgians their FM guns. Jeeps were brought from Britain and the United States, while the Netherlands supplied the German jet bombers with electronic instruments.¹⁵⁶ In addition to the arms deliveries, French helicopter mechanics, West German ground personnel and American special troops were at work in the Portuguese colonies.¹⁵⁷

"Now that the war extends by way of Rhodesia and Namibia towards South Africa's borders, exactly the same situation arises. As the waves of strikes by the black labourers become more frequent and foreign investment is seriously threatened, the west seems determined to protect its enormous profits for as long as possible. Despite an arms embargo by the Security Council in 1963, the white regime in Pretoria is extensively supplied with weapons. Both Britain and France have provided helicopters which can be used in suppressing uprisings and demonstrations. You have seen for yourself here in Soweto the broad, bare stretches of ground, with no houses. That is no coincidence; they are essential for the whites to bring tanks in during 'disturbances'. Besides, under licence from a western country South Africa can produce nerve-gas bombs, which can be exceptionally effective in containing strikes, for example.¹⁵⁸ "Yet all this is still not enough for the western countries. They want

even better guarantees that the white minority regimes will remain in power. *They want to create the possibility of military intervention.* The British vice-admiral Gretton declared in *NATO's Fifteen Nations*, the semi-official organ of NATO: 'It should always remain possible to intervene militarily (in South Africa) when we are invited to help in defence against aggression from outside *or against subversion from inside.*'¹⁵⁹ "Such statements by high-ranking officers and military spokesmen in various NATO publications are not exceptional. Several feelers have been thrown out with the aim of involving South Africa with NATO. As you know, by treaty NATO has no influence in the waters of the south Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Some cautious manoeuvring had to be done. But NATO was given the power to do this. The feelers that were thrown out were successful. At the beginning of 1972, a NATO sub-commission was created, consisting of Canada, Britain, America and Portugal. The commission, under the chairmanship of Mr Kenneth Robinson, a Canadian Member of Parliament, visited South Africa in order to investigate the desirability of South Africa joining NATO."¹⁶⁰

"Six months later, the NATO Assembly was held in Bonn. Representatives of all the NATO countries adopted a resolution instructing the NATO command to formulate plans for the protection of the sea routes around the Cape of Good Hope. This actually meant an extension of NATO territory to the southern Atlantic and, in practice, an enormous strengthening of the white minority regime in Pretoria. A United Nations report published in 1974 after an exhaustive investigation speaks of 'the prelude to an official decision to move towards defence planning with the white regimes'.¹⁶¹ *And NATO's Press Service has officially conceded that there are secret study plans for possible operations in Southern Africa.*¹⁶² A 'second Vietnam' is close at hand.

"What is the attitude of black South Africans to this interweaving of internal and external violence in which legislation, oppression, infringement of human rights, economic serfdom, foreign investment and western arms supplies strengthen each other to a frightening extent? Frankly, I do not know, but I do know that more blacks in South Africa are inclined to resort to violence themselves. Violence in the cause of liberation. Because all non-violent means have been throttled by the government. Dr Beyers Naudé has said that the roots of violence should be sought among the whites. He is undoubtedly right. If we blacks resort to violence then it is not because we like it, but because we have no alternative."

"If a house is on fire, do you then continue to throw fire-bombs onto the fire, or do you try to extinguish it?" (David Mboyo, a black South African.)

Jacob's final question was rather obvious. After everything he had experienced and heard, he wanted to know what he and his fellow Christians in Holland can do about the situation in Southern Africa. David: "In the final analysis, you'll have to decide for yourselves. But

if you want my advice, I would suggest the following. It is important that you develop a sense of common destiny, a feeling of concern for us, knowing that we are no strangers to you and that you can look upon us as your neighbours. If you have someone's interests at heart, you like to know how they are, especially when things are not going well for them. So it goes without saying that you should keep yourselves well informed about our oppression from newspapers, magazines, weeklies, books and brochures. How can there be a sense of emotional involvement, if you do not know how we are?

"Secondly, try to make use of what you have read. See that you are constantly concerned with it. Talk about it at your work, to people in the area where you live, to your neighbours, your parents or children, your friends, in your trade union, and form discussion groups in your church or elsewhere. Perhaps it will not be appreciated if you keep bringing up the subject of South Africa, but keep doing it. Daily life goes on for us too.

"Thirdly, you should examine your own involvement. What are the links between your country and South Africa? Are they mainly links with *white* South Africa? Are there also bonds of kith and kin? Do these bonds distort the picture? Why do you listen more to white South Africans than to blacks? And if you pray in church, why do you pray only for Dr Beyers Naudé (a man for whom I have great admiration), but not for the innumerable blacks who have been sentenced to life imprisonment for political reasons, those who work for starvation wages in the mines, those who are members of an underground trade union, or the migrant labourers who live an inhuman life? *Besides, what does praying for South Africa really involve — is it passive or active?*

"Let us consider foreign investments. What do we blacks expect from you? That you realize who profits from investment in South Africa. And that you conduct the debate at the proper level; in other words you should do more than merely scratch the surface of the problem, trying to buy off your responsibility by pressing for education or higher wages for the blacks. *The issue at stake is freedom or slavery.* And you must talk about that. As a church and as individual Christians you have an important task to perform. The promotion of freedom is surely a form of love. The removal of bondage is a form of justice. Besides, you must not feel powerless. As a Christian, you represent the power of goodness and the dictates of your own conscience. How can you do that? For example, you can write letters to companies with investments in South Africa,¹⁶³ raising questions which concern the issues of freedom and bondage. Why did the company go to South Africa? Was it because the climate for investments is so favourable? But why is it so? Has it anything to do with apartheid? What political conditions must a country satisfy if the company in question is to establish itself there? To what extent does the company consider itself legally or morally bound by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations? And what does that mean, in practice? What attitude does the company take concerning

deliveries to the South African government? Is it prepared to make a statement of principle on this? How does the company feel about investment in Namibia, now or in the future? Are they willing to make a statement of principle on this too? And (very important) is the company prepared to refuse to sign the passbooks of the black labourers, since this type of control by the South African government is in flagrant violation of human rights? Is the company also prepared to refuse to employ Africans through the government labour bureaux, which promote migrant labour and violate the right to freedom of work laid down in the Declaration of Human Rights?

"Let me tell you a story which illustrates the importance of this. Anthony Brink is a white South African from Sandton.¹⁶⁴ His neighbour had a black servant, who according to the rules of the labour bureau had to leave his wife and two children at home in Krugersdorp. Anthony Brink provided employment for the black woman, so that the whole family could be reunited.

"Attempts to settle the matter with the authorities failed, and Brink had to appear in court accused of illegally employing a black person. He was sentenced to a fine of 15 rand or 15 days' imprisonment. As a protest against the system he chose imprisonment, but was released after four days for good conduct. The black woman and her children were sent back to Krugersdorp. This is a very important example. The punishment meted out to a white man who refuses to comply with the inhuman system of pass laws and labour bureaux seems ridiculously lenient. After all, what is 15 rand compared with for example the amount a company lost through the much-acclaimed wage increases of 1973? Or compared with the enormous profits made year after year in South Africa?

"It would be interesting to see whether the western business world is willing to share like this in the liberation of the blacks. It should not be so difficult, since a company is much more powerful than Anthony Brink. This is a crucial test. Does the company want our freedom or our bondage? Does it want apartheid or equality? These are some of the questions you can put to all kinds of firms. By writing letters, you can show your solidarity with us. It is a chance to bring reconciliation closer. And it does not even call for a great sacrifice. For example, a group of eight people can draft some letters. One can write to five companies. Another can write to the same companies, but asking different questions. And so on. Perhaps you can coordinate your actions with other congregations in your neighbourhood. In any case, you can ask advice on drafting the letters from working groups with specialized knowledge in such matters.¹⁶⁵ Write to the national head office of a specific concern and also to the regional office, if there is one. Mention in your letters that you have an account at the bank concerned, or that you regularly buy products from the company, and that you therefore feel a party to what they do. After all, you exercise a certain power by virtue of being a free consumer. Naturally, if the correspondence proves unsuccessful, you can decide not to buy from that particular concern any more, and you can publicize

your decision. Perhaps your church has already adopted a stand along these lines.¹⁶⁶

"You must not think that such actions are doomed to failure. American banks which grant loans to the South African government were so embarrassed by consumer and shareholder campaigns that they were forced to transfer their South African activities to their European subsidiaries. Christians in Europe can now follow the example of their American friends.¹⁶⁷ Under pressure of public opinion, Sweden refused to participate in the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric project in Mozambique,¹⁶⁸ a project which has been called 'a dam against Africans'. The British building contractor Neil Wates and the Swedish Volvo company said they would not establish themselves in South Africa. And the Japanese government considered it necessary to press for a limitation of investment in South Africa.¹⁶⁹

"These are signs of hope, Jacob. Will you help to carry this hope further? That is my question to you, after all the questions you have asked me."

And yet, for us it is when he is on the cross,
This Jesus of Nazareth, with holed hands
and open side, like a beast at a sacrifice,
When he is stripped naked like us,
Browned and sweating water and blood in the heat of the sun,
Yet silent,
That we cannot resist him.

How like us he is, this Jesus of Nazareth,
Beaten, tortured, imprisoned, spat upon, truncheoned,
Denied by his own, and chased like a thief in the night,
Despised, and rejected like a dog that has fleas,
for NO REASON.

No reason, but that he was Son of his Father,
OR . . . was there a reason?

(from "I am an African", by Gabriel Setiloane, a South African Methodist minister.¹⁷⁰)

Was there a reason? A pressing question. Jacob learnt in South Africa that there are certainly reasons for the suffering of the blacks. Jacob and David said goodbye. Their handshake was warm. But Jacob realized that the value of their friendship would only appear later when he was back in Holland. Then he must answer David's question about what he and the others really meant to him: the others from Soweto, from Dimbaza, the migrant labourers, the prisoners and all those who are deprived of their rights.

Amsterdam. Schiphol airport. No skyscrapers. And no black who asks, "What can I do for you, boss?" Jacob must carry his own suitcase. The same day he goes to see the minister to tell him about his visit, since he had gone to South Africa on behalf of the congregation. They decide to hold an evening meeting with the congregation. It turns out to be rather disappointing, for Jacob finds it difficult to share his experiences. He does not know how to answer all the questions, some of them theological, that are fired at him. He also feels a bit uncomfortable about all these questions, for after his journey he understands only too well why David wrote in his second letter about the luxury of endless debate.

A solution had to be found, and Jacob suggested, to everyone's satisfaction, that they invite two black people, both from Southern Africa and presently



Brigalia Bam

living in Europe. Why should he speak for the oppressed? They can do it much better themselves.

The following evening, Brigalia Bam and José Chipenda came to talk with the congregation. Brigalia Bam is a black South African and a member of the Anglican Church of South Africa. She is also a member of the staff of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. José Chipenda is an Angolan Methodist minister and a staff member of the World Council's Programme to Combat Racism¹⁷¹. Both have personal experience of oppression.

Brigalia's brother was imprisoned for eleven years on the infamous Robben Island, and José's father was murdered by the Portuguese.

But before we listen to Brigalia and José, a note of explanation is necessary. The reader will probably have noticed that David has expressed himself in relatively moderate terms. He has tried to adapt himself to our thoughts and to the questions and problems with which we are grappling.

What Brigalia and José say will probably sound harder. I (R.v.W.) informed both, during a long interview, about the position of the debate in the Reformed Church of the Netherlands as expressed in the questions and remarks made during the synod meeting of November 1973. It seems that our way of approaching the problems of Southern Africa in the church and in general causes annoyance to the blacks who have actually experienced suffering. Brigalia even wanted to stop the interview half-way. And she is by no means a radical exception.

So our attitude meets with resentment. But surely we can learn something



José Chipenda

from this, for it poses an enormous challenge to us to start afresh in our search for reconciliation, and to do it better. And surely the time has finally come when we must learn to listen to those whom we have never really wanted to hear. It is from this angle that this final chapter is written. It is therefore not simply a description of an ordinary evening with a congregation, at which both sides are heard and to which everyone makes a contribution. Brigalia and José (and through them the average African from Southern Africa) are prepared to talk with us, but they want us first to learn to listen. Because they have their own thoughts, their own wishes, their own opinion of us, their culture, their faith, their emotions, their fears, their feelings of hope and their feelings of love. They want to transmit that to us; then we can talk about it. And after that we can draw our own conclusions. But how can we bear our responsibilities if we have not learnt to understand what they have to say?

Jacob opens the discussion by asking the guests what they feel about the phenomenon of *black theology*, as it relates to the process of the liberation of black people.

Brigalia: "For me black theology means that I can experience Jesus and my faith in him only from my world of experience as an oppressed, black, South African Christian. That means that theology is not something abstract for me, but something very concrete. I do not only have to save my soul; I must regain my dignity as a human being. I must be able to provide food for my children, and prevent my family from being broken up. But that means that we as Christians have the right to free ourselves. It is written that man was

created in the image of God, but what is the meaning of that, if the black man was not also created in the image of God? I believe that Jesus came to this world to liberate us black South Africans from the oppression to which the white South Africans have subjected us. I really do believe that. And that means that I must be a human being and that I must free myself from oppression as a child of God. And I must free myself from all the oppression which I have already experienced for many years . . . For me, this is the liberation of Jesus Christ. And if it is not so, then the Gospel makes no sense for me as a black South African."

José: "Black theology serves as a kind of bridge between biblical faith and our experiences in daily life. Christianity only has meaning for Africans when it provides an answer to our problems. You could say that not only does it matter for us that Jesus walked on the sea of Galilee: it is essential for us to see him walking on the Atlantic Ocean.

"Black theology is closely intertwined with our liberation, with the loosening of our chains. Liberation is a process in which a man becomes himself. If you are not free, then you are not yourself, but somebody else. Among the blacks the feeling is now beginning to develop that liberation is the beginning of life. And this feeling, this process of liberation brings us to a situation in which not only can we save other blacks, *but we are also in a position to save the whites.*

"From this situation, I would like to ask you a number of questions about foreign investment in Southern Africa - our subject for tonight. Firstly, what is the position with regard to the biblical principle of stewardship? Doesn't this principle mean that what I have is not mine and what you have is not yours? Doesn't everything belong to God? He gave it to us for a while, so that we can give it to others. But if we are bad stewards, how can this happen? Surely it is vital, in the first place, to listen to the voices of those whom we have refused to accept as partners in our stewardship?

"There is another biblical principle: 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.' Jesus said that to us. I ask you: where is the treasure of the Church? Is it investment in Southern Africa, with the enormous profits for the west and oppression for the blacks? Is the heart of the Church there? Or is it the treasure of the Church to bring about justice?"

Question: "I would like to agree with you. But we have one main concern. We do not want in any way to promote a violent solution."¹⁷²

José: "The situation in South Africa is violent. It has been so for decades. Even women and children practise at the shooting-range. The blacks in South Africa have no weapons. They cannot, therefore, be violent.

"But violence doesn't only come from the barrel of a gun. *Doesn't violence begin when you deprive a person of the right to live in freedom?* Especially when the person whom you wish to punish is innocent. Do you know any instances in South Africa of blacks building prisons for whites? Can you give one single example of a case in which a black man or a black woman has any influence on the (violent) political situation in South Africa? And who manages the economy in Southern Africa? We must make a proper distinction between the oppressive violence of the whites and the eventual liberat-

ing violence of the blacks.

"Africans would never willingly opt for violence, for that would mean playing with the fire of mass suicide. But you must realize that every other possibility has been taken away from them. Your church must make a choice in the situation. The choice is this: Are you on the side of the oppressor or on the side of the oppressed? *And don't you see that if you choose for the oppressed, you actually choose a non-violent solution?*

"Investment in South Africa in fact means opting for structural violence. When you take a stand for the oppressed you remove some violence from an explosive situation. And I can assure you that the liberation of which we speak does not mean that we blacks want to drive the whites from South Africa. Liberation is a process in which all people work together in order to bring justice to the country, so that each person feels free and prepared to make a contribution to the welfare of all."

Question: "You say there is only one choice. But we cannot leave the whites in the lurch. We have to continue the dialogue with them."¹⁷³

José: "When I was still a student, I learnt that there are two ways in which you can love your neighbour. We all know the concept *love*. We also know the concept *passion*. You can say that love is objective. You want the person whom you love to exist. And when it is necessary, you correct him. You have a close bond with each other, you trust each other, you form each other and you correct each other. Passion, on the other hand, is blind. If you experience passion for somebody then you follow him, wherever he goes. Even if he jumps into a well. You do not possess the power to correct him. And I think, and I am afraid, that the Church sometimes gets caught up in this passion, in this enthusiasm, where the whites in Southern Africa are concerned. The Church is thus involved in the fall of those whom it ought to guide.

"I have no objection to your church talking with the whites in South Africa, but on condition that it also talks with the blacks, including the political prisoners on Robben Island."¹⁷⁴

Brigalia: "You talk about dialogue. But what kind of dialogue? With whom? On whose terms? Dialogue often aims at convincing the whites in Europe that life is not really so bad for Africans. People have to listen to what the whites say about apartheid. Nobody wants dialogue with black South Africans. The dialogue you talk about in the west is dialogue with *certain* people in South Africa. Especially with business people. Dialogue is meant to keep the discussion going and to hear the thing which one wants to hear."

Question: "But how can the whites in South Africa be converted?"¹⁷⁵

Brigalia: "I don't know. Only Jesus himself can do that. The only chance of conversion in South Africa is to suffer. And perhaps then they will understand the suffering of Jesus."

Question: "At present there is talk about withdrawal of investments from Southern Africa, but the churches in South Africa have opted for a more moderate strategy. Surely you do not expect us to formulate a strategy which by-passes the South African churches?"¹⁷⁶

José: "I was formerly a minister in Angola. Africans lived there long before the Europeans came. *Without any money from abroad*. The standard of

living was much higher than it is now. And the infant mortality rate was much lower.

"At the moment there are Europeans in Southern Africa. And foreign investment. And what do we find? Africans live in inhuman circumstances. Husbands are separated from their wives. Children are born to die, not to live. When I was a minister with a congregation, I often had to bury children. It was my pastoral duty to do so, and to comfort the parents. But it was my prophetic duty to say when a child died at the age of two years that it was not the will of God, but that it happened because of circumstances in which the child had to live, without sufficient food or medical care.

"It will be clear to anyone who knows anything about the situation in Southern Africa that the churches there, under white leadership, are forced by the system of oppression into such a position that they cannot fulfil their prophetic task. But surely that should not prevent the churches in Europe from carrying out their prophetic function? You can supplement each other most effectively. You do not have to stand passively aside and rely upon the sounds which filter through the sieve of terrorism and censure. Here again, you have to make a choice."

Question: "But how can one actually prove that the majority of black South Africans want the withdrawal of investment?"

Brigalia: "It is very difficult to prove. When you are dealing with westerners you always have to prove everything statistically. You must quote statements and articles. You have to know the pros and cons so that a serious debate can be held. But everybody knows that black South Africans do not have a chance to speak; they have no power and they have no platform. You hear a number of arguments, such as the one related to gradual reforms. But as those who support this argument know very well, experience has taught us that wage increases do not destroy apartheid. One also hears the argument that withdrawal of investments will hurt Africans. It is surprising how people in the west have suddenly become concerned about our fate. We have been suffering for many years, but nobody cared then. You see, western investors are not interested in us Africans. They are interested in profits. You know what happened after the massacre at Sharpeville in 1960, when there was unrest in South Africa? The investors who are now so suddenly concerned about us flocked to leave the country, because the market was no longer so attractive.

"You know, when I talk as I am doing now, people in the west don't want to listen to me any more. They say: 'Oh, you are so emotional!' But what is really at issue? We talk about money. And money is something near to people's hearts. They cannot live without money. Money is something very emotional. So how can people listen to somebody who says that they must not make any more profits in South Africa? People do not want to listen. And that is why I am not prepared to apologize for my emotions. Because the reason why we have problems with the withdrawal of western investment is that the subject is emotional. It is by no means an intellectual subject."

José: "I think there is absolutely no doubt about the fact that the majority of Africans want withdrawal. All the signs that reach us indicate that they do."

Question: "What do you think about the possibility of reconciliation?"

Brigalia: "When my child has had no food for two days and my brother has rotted away for ten years on Robben Island, what meaning can it have for me when you talk about reconciliation? How do I reconcile myself with you or anybody else? Who knows my suffering? Who is responsible for my suffering? What does reconciliation mean, in this context? Doesn't reconciliation mean being at peace with my neighbour?"

"But how do you achieve peace, on what basis? How, when our standards of living are not the same and our suffering is not the same? How should I reconcile myself with my exploiters? Because even if people in the west do not approve of the apartheid system, they still profit from it. How can they be reconciled with their black neighbour? They do not even know where he lives!"

José: "Reconciliation is important and necessary. It is something for which we all long. Jesus came to the world not only to reconcile one person with another, but also to reconcile man with God.

"How can that happen in South Africa? Society is permeated by fear. Not by love, because love and fear are mutually exclusive. How can reconciliation take place when there is fear, and therefore no love, and when the whites do not want to be reconciled with God or with Africans? How can there be reconciliation when the whites and blacks, both children of the same Creator, are divided by the political system? How can I talk about reconciliation when I know that foreign investment - *your* investment - promotes and strengthens the inequality? Investment provides some people - the whites - with an opportunity of receiving money from abroad and to get rich. And the others, the blacks, get only the crumbs; all they are required to do is to work for the whites. Foreign investment thus separates people, sets them *apart*, divides them and makes reconciliation impossible. Experience has taught us that someone who is wealthy and someone who is poor cannot live together in the same area. I will never forget once sitting in a plane with someone of a higher class. A distinguished gentleman. We sat next to each other, but he said nothing to me. For about one and a half hours. Until about ten minutes before the end of the journey, when it appeared that we could not land because of the mist. Suddenly he lost his inhibitions and started talking to me. I knew that this conversation came about only because we knew that our lives were in danger, because we shared an interest in survival. That gave us a common sense of direction and brought us close together.

"Unfortunately, no such feeling exists in South Africa. Because the whites, who call themselves Christians, do not dare to live in accordance with the Gospel. They have become hardened. They think only about their own security. And what do the people in the west think about, with their profitable investments? Besides, is it really so useful to have such a lot of money in the bank, or is it more useful to work for a just society? *Reconciliation is a very painful process.* It is closely intertwined with the question of foreign investment in Southern Africa. And with the part you play in it."

Notes

1. A Dutch protestant weekly, *Hervormd Nederland*, 4 May 1974.
2. Francis Wilson: *Migrant Labour in South Africa*, SPROCAS, Johannesburg, 1972. Photograph on page 58B.
3. For a description of Soweto, see Markus Braun: *Das Schwarze Johannesburg, Afrikaner im Getto*, 1973. See also *Sechaba*, April 1974. Whites are in some cases given permission to visit Soweto by the South African authorities. One then gets a special "permit". Jacob could not make use of this possibility for his long visit to Soweto.
4. Markus Braun, op. cit., page 141. The bus route is sophisticated. One sees the best parts of Soweto, going through the same streets twice and receiving copious amounts of faulty information from the tourist guide. Markus Braun has travelled several times through this tourist attraction.
5. Every book on South Africa contains a paragraph on the pass laws. The most comprehensive description given by a reference book is found in: *South African Studies: The South African Trade Union Movement*, 1970, page 13.
6. The Criminal Procedure Act of 1955.
7. According to official figures disclosed by the South African police, the number of arrests on the grounds of pass offences during the 1969/70 season was on average 1,764 persons per day. In 1970, the average number of arrests amounted to 1,685 per day. This number has at present risen to about 2,000 per day. See: *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1972*, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1973, page 161; and John Gaetsewe in: Robert van Waesberge: *Zuidelijk Afrika op weg naar de bevrijding* (Southern Africa on the way to liberation), 1973, page 15.
8. Quoted in: Ruth First, Jonathan Steel, Christabel Gurney: *The South African Connection, Western Investment in Apartheid*, 1972, page 41.
9. For the Bantustans, see inter alia Barbara Rogers: *South Africa: The "Bantu Homelands"*, International Defence and Aid Fund, London, 1972, and Muriel Horrell: *The African Reserves of South Africa*, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969.
10. For resettlement, see inter alia: Cosmas Desmond: *The Discarded People*, 1971. Also *South Africa: "Resettlement" — The New Violence to Africans*, International Defence and Aid Fund, London, 1969, and Brian Bunting: *The Rise of the South African Reich*, 1969, pages 165—170.
11. Quoted in *South Africa: "Resettlement" — The New Violence to Africans*, op. cit., page 23.
12. James Matthews and Gladys Thomas: *Cry Rage*, 1972, poem No. 7.
13. Quoted in Alex Hepple: *South Africa: Workers under Apartheid*, 1971, page 3. Perhaps even more important than this statement of Vorster is "An Open Letter to All South Africans", written in 1971 and signed by 46, mainly white, South African clergymen. In this letter, the authors make a thorough and exhaustive comparison, based on 13 points, between Nazism and apartheid, in which they refer, inter alia, to the nationalistic, religious, absolutistic, racist and fatal character of apartheid.
14. Resettlement camps are obviously strictly prohibited for foreign tourists and white South Africans. One of the very few who has had the opportunity of visiting the resettlement camps is Cosmas Desmond, on account of his pro-

fession as a priest. After the publication of his book *The Discarded People*, he was almost immediately banned by the South African government. *For Jacob's visit to Dimbaza, I have strictly adhered to Desmond's description* (pages 99–105). Dimbaza was chosen because a similar, topical report about it appeared in *Sechaba*, April 1974, pages 16–20. See also Francis Wilson, op. cit., pages 250–253.

15. *Sechaba*, April 1974.
16. Quoted in Alex Hepple, op. cit., page 15. This governmental report dates from 1921, but it is still applicable.
17. The strict ban on strikes has recently been lifted. Under extremely stringent conditions, it is now in theory possible to refuse to work. *In practice*, Africans still encounter a ban on strikes.
18. For a description of Robben Island, see D. M. Zwelonke: *Robben Island*, Heinemann, London, 1973.
19. For this summary, see United Nations, Unit on Apartheid: *Political Prisoners in South Africa*, February 1974.
20. According to general J. C. Steyn, responsible for prisons, quoted in Brian Bunting, op. cit., page 240.
21. See, inter alia, United Nations: *Maltreatment and Torture of Prisoners in South Africa*, 1973, UN document ST/PSCA/SER.A/13; also *South African Prisons and the Red Cross Investigation*, 1967; also Hilda Bernstein: *The Terrorism of Torture*, 1972; also Brian Bunting, op. cit., pages 227–234.
22. Quoted in Brian Bunting, op. cit., page 227.
23. Idem., page 234.
24. Idem., page 227.
25. For a survey of all the important laws, see Brian Bunting, op. cit., pages 158–193, and Leslie Rubin: *Apartheid in Practice*, OPI/428, United Nations.
26. Brian Bunting, op. cit., page 218.
27. Idem., page 236.
28. Quoted in Don Morton: *Partners in Apartheid*, 1973, page 7.
29. For contract labour, see the impressive book by Francis Wilson: *Migrant Labour in South Africa*, op. cit.; also Brian Bunting, op. cit., pages 489–503.
30. Some estimates envisage that by 1980 some 4 million Africans will be unemployed. Cf. Fred van Wyk, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, quoted in Barbara Rogers, op. cit., page 36.
31. Brian Bunting, op. cit., page 491.
32. Francis Wilson, op. cit., page 189.
33. John Gaetsewe in Robert van Waesberge, op. cit., page 15.
34. Francis Wilson, op. cit., page 188.
35. For very impressive photographs, see Ernest Cole: *House of Bondage*, 1967, pages 32–37.
36. Francis Wilson, op. cit., page 34.
37. Idem., page 38.
38. Idem., page 39.
39. *The Guardian*, 14 March 1974.
40. For a detailed description, see Francis Wilson, op. cit., page 43, and Don Morton, op. cit., page 17. I have adhered exactly to both authors. Again, they mention that permission was given only in exceptional cases to visit Alexandra and other similar quarters.
41. Francis Wilson, op. cit., pages 259–262.
42. *Fortune*, July, 1972.
43. Bishop Colin Winter in Robert van Waesberge, op. cit., page 23.
44. Ruth First et al, op. cit., page 30.
45. *Church Investments, Corporations and Southern Africa*, 1973. A report compiled for the American National Council of Churches, pages 22–24. And Ruth First et al, op. cit., Chapter 3: The black poor get poorer, pages 41–50.
46. A Dutch peace-research monthly, *Transaktie*, March, 1973.
47. *Financial Mail*, 7 December, 1973.

48. *Financial Mail*, 19 April, 1974. Data on the PDL have been taken from the *Financial Mail* of 5 April, 1974.
49. A detailed article about PDL appeared in the *Financial Mail* of 5 April, 1974.
50. *Church Investments, Corporations* . . . op. cit., page 24.
51. Memorandum to the British Parliamentary Commission of Investigation. This argument is frequently being used. See also the *Financial Mail*, 5 April, 1974.
52. For a report and impressive photographs, taken by a hidden camera, see: Ernest Cole, op. cit., pages 112–121. The situation has improved somewhat recently but the picture as portrayed generally still holds water.
53. Also see: *Financial Mail*, 7 December, 1973.
54. Ruth First et al, op. cit., page 51.
55. *Some Implications of Inequality*, A SPROCAS publication, 1971, page 35.
56. *An Open Letter to All South Africans*, op. cit., page 8. And: United Nations, Unit on Apartheid, August, 1972: *Facts and figures on South Africa*. In both sources, investigations conducted in different typical areas in South Africa are quoted.
57. A Dutch weekly, *Vrij Nederland*, 22 September, 1973.
58. *Financial Mail*, 27 April, 1973.
59. The Consultative Body of the three Dutch Trade Union Federations, the NVV (socialist), NKV (Catholic) and CNV (Protestant), has adopted, with regard to foreign investment in Southern Africa, the following position:
 - 1) The trade union movement expresses as its conviction that foreign investment has contributed towards and is thereby at least jointly responsible for the success of the policy of apartheid in South Africa and for the maintenance of the illegal regimes in Rhodesia and Namibia.
 - 2) It is the conviction of the trade union movement that the establishment of and investment in concerns can only take place provided the equality of all the population groups is recognized in the labour relations within the concern. As binding conditions for participation and investment in these areas, the following points are made:
 - a) Actual recognition of the right to form trade union organizations and to enter into collective labour agreements for all population groups;
 - b) real and actual abolishment of the system of reserving functions for members of privileged population groups;
 - c) such an observance of the Wage Act that payment of the minimum wage to non-whites cannot be evaded;
 - d) drafting and introducing in practice a system of equal pay for all population groups;
 - e) creating the possibilities of professional training with the concerns for all population groups;
 - f) pursuing a policy which has as its starting point the equality of white and non-white employees.The synod of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands has supported, for the time being, the conditions for investment as proposed by the trade union movement.

It should be pointed out that Africans, like David Mboyo, find these conditions insufficient. They speak of *scratching the surface of the problem*. The reader is requested to read David's words about wages, trade unions and educational facilities while he also points out that the Dutch trade unions do not say anything about the *oppressive character* of foreign investment. They talk only about *reforms*. The trade unions are reticent in their conditions about the deliveries to the South African government, about the fact that investing concerns sign the pass books of their black labourers, that they promote migrant labour, that they consolidate the policy of Bantustans, etc. Not without reason, David said: "the question at issue is freedom, not higher wages".
60. *Financial Mail*, 7 December, 1973.
61. *Financial Mail*, 1 February, 1974.

62. *Financial Mail*, 21 December, 1973.
63. SPROCAS, a study project of the Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches, calls this immoral and opposed to the responsible society, as envisaged by Dr W.A. Visser 't Hooft. Peter Randall: *Power, Privilege and Poverty*, SPROCAS publication, 1972, page 14.
64. *Financial Mail*, 21 December, 1973.
65. Brian Bunting, op. cit., page 355.
66. Peter Randall, op. cit., page 64.
67. *Financial Mail*, 15 February, 1974. The *Financial Mail* remarks that year after year resolutions on paper are adopted in respect of African trade union rights, but that the effect of these resolutions does not amount to more than lip-service. Harriet Bolton, a woman trade union official who is interested in the cause of Africans, observes that these resolutions are primarily drafted for consumption by international trade union organizations like the ILO and by foreign visitors and diplomats. The *Financial Mail* writes in another issue of "betrayal" of Africans.
68. *Financial Mail*, 8 February, 1974.
69. Ruth First et al, op. cit., page 45.
70. *Financial Mail*, 22 February, 1974.
71. *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 February, 1973.
72. A South African Afrikaans-language daily, *Die Vaderland*, 2 February, 1973.
73. *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 February, 1973.
74. *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 February, 1973.
75. *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 January, 1973.
76. *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 January, 1973.
77. *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 March, 1974.
78. *Sechaba*, official organ of the African National Congress (A.N.C.), March, 1974.
79. *Financial Mail*, 1 March, 1974.
80. In August, 1974, four organizations were, contrary to expectations, not declared "affected" in terms of a new law. These organizations were a) The Christian Institute, b) SPROCAS, c) NUSAS and d) the Institute of Race Relations. It is assumed, however, that African trade unions will be "affected" soon.
81. Quoted in Ruth First et al, op. cit., page 193.
82. Quoted in "*Vrijheid met alle geweld*" (Liberation by forced violence); dossier Zuidelijk Afrika, 1971.
Just how much attention the South African government pays to education for black South Africans can be judged from the following official figures: *per capita* expenditure from public funds for white children at school amounts to R282. *Per capita* expenditure for a black child at school amounts to R16,97. This is more than 16 times less.
See: *A Survey of Race Relations 1972*, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, page 344.
83. For an extensive history of African resistance, see: Mary Benson, *The Struggle for a Birthright*, 1966.
84. Peter Randall, op. cit., page 63.
85. Idem, page 7.
86. See inter alia: Ruth First et al, op. cit., Chapter 9: Experiments and Failures, pages 193–212.
Further: Erik P. Eckholm: *Polaroid's experiment in South Africa*, Enlightened engagement and the structure of apartheid, in: *Africa Today*, Vol. 19 No. 2, Spring 1972.
87. *The Observer*, 8 August, 1970. The Swedish car manufacturers, Volvo, announced in March 1974 that they would make no investments in South Africa in the future. Director Peter Syllénhammer said that the business prospect for the establishment of a Volvo subsidiary in South Africa were favourable, but, he declared: "We have decided not to make a single investment, on account of the racial and political situation in that country."

88. A Dutch business weekly, *De Onderneming*, 1 September, 1972. And: a Dutch protestant weekly, *Hervormd Nederland*, 1 June, 1974.
89. One should bear in mind that only about 3% of the black labour force falls under the stipulations of the Job Reservation Act.
A relaxation in the political implementation of this law thus only concerns a very small number of black labourers. *For the overwhelming majority, the colour bar (which arises from vastly different mechanisms) is still in force and will remain in force under the present system of apartheid.*
See: United Nations: *Industrialization, foreign capital and forced labour in South Africa*, 1970, UN-document SI/PSCA/Ser.A/W. page 34.
90. Peter Randall, op. cit., pages 89-90. And: Ruth First et al, op. cit., Chapter 4: The floating colour bar, pages 59-80.
91. Peter Randall, op. cit., pages 69 and 90.
92. *Pro Veritate*, monthly organ of the Christian Institute, February, 1974.
93. Don Morton, op. cit., page 12.
94. Idem, page 12.
95. *Financial Mail*, 11 January, 1974.
96. Peter Randall, op. cit., page 86.
97. Don Morton, op. cit., pages 13 and 14.
98. Idem, page 25.
99. Peter Randall, op. cit., page 77.
100. Don Morton, op. cit., page 12.
101. *Financial Mail*, 3 July, 1970.
102. Peter Randall, op. cit., page 81.
103. W.J.F. Steenkamp: Labour Policies for Growth during the Seventies. In: *South African Journal of Economics*, Vol. 39, 1971, page 99.
104. Quoted by Esau du Plessis in: *Outspan, Bouwstenen voor apartheid* (Outspan, Building bricks for apartheid), 1972, page 4. Original report in: *The Star*, Johannesburg, 26 August, 1972.
105. *KAIROS-Berichten*, a Dutch quarterly of KAIROS, 1972, No. 1.
106. *Vredesopbouw*, a Dutch monthly magazine about building peace, January, 1974.
107. Peter Randall, op. cit., page 54.
108. Idem, pages 64 and 95.
109. Church Investments, Corporations . . . , op. cit., page 102.
110. *Vredesopbouw*, January, 1974.
111. Ruth First et al, op. cit., page 32.
112. Idem, page 178.
113. Idem, page 33.
114. The Frankfurt Documents, secret Bank Loans to South Africa. In: *The Corporate Examiner*, July, 1973.
115. Peter Randall and Horst Kleinschmidt: *A People Company, Report on an Investigation into Standard Telephones and Cables (SA) Ltd.*, 1973.
116. *Transaktie*, a Dutch peace-research monthly, March, 1973.
117. Timothy Smith: *The American Corporation in South Africa: An Analysis*, 1971, page 6.
118. Charles Diggs: *Churchmen Report on U.S. Business in South Africa*, 1972.
119. Quoted in: Ruth First et al, op. cit., page 190.
120. Idem, page 147.
121. Church Investments, Corporations . . . , op. cit., page 78.
122. Idem, page 58.
123. Timothy Smith, op. cit., page 7.
124. *Financial Mail*, 18 August, 1972.
125. Peter Randall and Horst Kleinschmidt, op. cit., page 8.
126. *Financial Mail*, 10 March, 1972; 18 August, 1972. And: SIPRI annals, 1972.
It should be pointed out that Philips denies any supplies to the South African army. One of the directors declared that it was "nonsense" to *Vrij Nederland*, a Dutch weekly, 9 September, 1972.

127. *Financial Mail*, 29 March, 1974.
128. Idem.
129. Ruth First et al, op. cit., page 27.
130. Idem, page 104.
Also: Church Investments, Corporations . . . , op. cit., page 123.
131. *Financial Mail*, 21 December, 1973.
132. Ruth First et al, op. cit., page 105.
133. Idem, page 186.
134. Timothy Smith, op. cit., page 9.
135. *Financial Mail*, 1 February, 1974.
136. Colin Winter in: Robert van Waesberge, op. cit., page 24.
137. Idem, page 22.
138. Church Investments, Corporations . . . , op. cit., pages 37-45.
139. *Vrij Nederland*, a Dutch weekly, 20 January, 1973.
140. United Nations: *Objective Justice*, Vol. 6, No. 2, April/May/June 1974, pages 15-26.
141. Quoted in: Dr C.F. Beyers Naudé, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi et al.: *Management Responsibility and African Employment*, 1973, page 67.
142. At the same time, Buthelezi regularly says that he is completely powerless. About the "discussions" which the Bantustan leader recently conducted with premier Vorster and about which a lot of fuss was made, Buthelezi said: "The government has spoken and we black leaders must listen." *Trouw*, a Dutch daily, 17 September, 1974.
143. For an extensive report of the Rhodesian referendum, see, inter alia: Judith Todd: *The Right to say No*, 1972.
144. *The Star*, 14 March, 1974.
145. Bennie Khoapa: *Black Review 1972*, a publication of Black Community Programmes, 1973, page 14.
146. Quoted in: *Vrij Nederland*, a Dutch weekly, 28 October, 1972.
147. See: *Sanctions against Rhodesia 1965 to 1972*, a publication of The Africa Bureau, London, 1972.
148. *Financial Mail*, 14 December, 1973.
149. Press Communiqué of the All Africa Conference of Churches, third Assembly. Lusaka, Zambia, 11-24 May, 1974.
150. Minutes of the meeting of the general synod of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands on 19, 20 and 21 November, 1973, held in the pastoral centre, Hydepark, Driebergen, Holland, page 58.
151. The position of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) is interesting. This group of churches opposes apartheid; the three white Afrikaans-language Reformed churches of South Africa thus do not belong to the SACC. With regard to the Special Fund and the policy of withdrawal of investment of the World Council of Churches, the SACC has *overtly* disapproved of the decisions of the WCC, while an attempt was made *covertly* to do justice to the viewpoint of the WCC. The government of Vorster has exerted heavy pressure on the SACC and its member churches to withdraw their membership from the WCC, but this was refused. The SACC did not wish to disassociate itself from the WCC.
In August, 1974, the SACC called on its member churches to consider whether refusal of military service was not essential, since the whites were defending with increasing violence their own society. It would be hypocritical to defend the own violence and to regret the violence of the liberation movements, the SACC said.
Finally, it should be pointed out that the SACC is closely involved in the set-up and financing of the SPROCAS projects, which are increasingly adopting a more radical viewpoint. One could speak of a joint production by the Christian Institute and the SACC.
152. Press Communiqué of the All Africa Conference of Churches.

153. *Trouw*, a Dutch daily, 13 June, 1974.
154. Vorster expects a FRELIMO government to satisfy a number of specific economic conditions favourable to South Africa.
If FRELIMO wants to adopt its own independent policies in Mozambique then the possibility of South African intervention remains, Vorster declared.
The Guardian, 31 August, 1974.
155. See, inter alia: Sietse Bosgra and Chr. van Krimpen: *Portugal en de NATO*, derde hersiene druk (Portugal and NATO, third revised edition), 1971 and: Abdul S. Minty: *South Africa's Defence Strategy*, Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, 1971.
And: *Vrij Nederland*, 13 May, 1972.
And: *Transaktie*, February, 1972.
And: Robert van Waesberge, op. cit., pages 37–38.
156. See: Sietse Bosgra and Chr. van Krimpen, op. cit., page 22. Fiat G-91 R-4 aircraft, designed according to NATO specifications, are involved; they possess Italian fuselages, British engines, French undercarriages and Dutch electronic equipment.
Bosgra and van Krimpen obtain their information from: Robert Rhodes James: *Standardization and Common Production of Weapons in NATO*, a publication of the authoritative British Institute of Strategic Studies.
157. *Revue française d'études politiques africaines*, December, 1970.
And: *Die Weltwoche*, 23 August, 1968.
And: *Vrij Nederland*, 8 April, 1972.
158. In 1965, Mr Fouche, the then South African Minister of Defence, said in parliament that South Africa "had received a licence from a western government to make a most modern type of bomb". Experts thought that a nerve-gas bomb was involved.
See: Abdul S. Minty, op. cit., page 5.
159. *NATO's Fifteen Nations*, June–July, 1969.
160. *Die Burger*, 20 January, 1972.
And: *The Guardian*, 21 January, 1972.
NATO spokesmen in Brussels have denied the existence of such a sub-commission.
161. *The Observer*, 19 May, 1974.
162. *Idem*.
163. For lists of Dutch firms with subsidiaries in South Africa, see:
a) *Investeren in rechtvaardigheid* (Investment in righteousness), IKV-brochure No. 17, 1974, page 4.
b) *Pers Geen Suidafrikaan uit!* BOA-Congresmap (Don't Squeeze South Africa Dry! Congress folio), 1973, pages 58–64.
c) *Aan direkties en ondernemingsraden van Nederlandse bedrijven met Vestigingen in Zuid-Afrika* (To the directors and entrepreneurial councils of Dutch firms with subsidiaries in South Africa), KAIROS-Berichten 1971, No. 3, pages 2–3.
164. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1973*, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1974, page 139.
165. *Aktie Betaald Antwoord* (Prepaid Reply Campaign, associated with the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism), P.O. Box 180, Driebergen, Holland.
And: Anti-Apartheidsbeweging (Anti-Apartheid Movement), *Hereengracht* 88, Amsterdam, Holland.
166. *Boycott Outspan Aktie* (BOA), Pastoorstraat 26, Leiden, Holland.
166. The Reformed Synod reached the following decision at its meeting in February, 1974: "The synod calls for reflection on buying and consumption habits, especially in view of the situation in Southern Africa.
"The synod, therefore, views positively the existence of campaigns which strive to promote this reflection in the service of righteousness."

167. A well-known example is the American Maryland National Bank which felt itself compelled, under heavy pressure from a campaign of a small group of Christians of the United Church of Christ, to stop its loan to the South African government.
Cf. the stand of the Central Committee of the WCC (Berlin, 1974), which asked its member churches and individual Christians to bring pressure to bear on six clearly named banks to stop their loans to the South African government.
168. Sietse Bosgra: *Cabora Bassa; een dam tegen de Afrikanen* (Cabora Bassa; a dam against the Africans), Angola Committee, Amsterdam, 1971.
169. *The Star*, 11 May, 1974.
The Times, 20 June, 1973.
170. *I am an African* has been included in the collection: *Waar blijft God?* (Where is God?), edited by the Rev. R.J. van der Veen, 1973.
171. An extensive version of the interview with Brigalia Bam appeared in the Dutch protestant weekly, *Hervormd Nederland*, 11 May, 1974. The interview with the Rev. José Chipenda has not been published before.
172. Concern about violence was evident at the synod debate of November, 1973. See minutes . . . pages 56 and 62.
173. Minutes . . . page 59: "Rev. Voortmen considers withdrawal of investment as a boycott to be a harsh measure. With investment, you also withdraw yourself."
174. Dr Beyers Naudé also considers that the time for dialogue with the whites has elapsed some time ago. According to Beyers Naudé, the real partners for dialogue are the blacks, who have incidentally seized the political initiative. Also see, inter alia, *NRC-Handelsblad*, a Dutch daily, 28 August, 1974.
175. Minutes . . . page 59.
176. Idem, page 58.